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**19 October 1984**

# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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19 October 1984

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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ALBANIA

ISTANBUL MAYOR VISITS TIRANA

AU031249 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 3 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, 3 October (ATA)--At the invitation of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council, Jashar Menzelxhiu, the Vali [mayor] of Istanbul Nezvat Ajaz, together with his wife arrived in our country.

Present to welcome him at the airport were the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council, Jashar Menzelxhiu, director of department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Piro Bita, etc. Present was also the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in the PSR of Albania Selcuk Toker.

X X X

Yesterday, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council, Jashar Menzelxhiu received the Vali of Istanbul Nezvat Ajaz at the Executive Committee and had a friendly talk with him.

X X X

The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council, Jashar Menzelxhiu gave a dinner yesterday evening in honour of the Vali of Istanbul Nezvat Ajaz and his wife. Attending were the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, the Secretary General of the Council of Ministers Gjon Gorishti, the vice-minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka and others.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, Selcuk Toker.

The dinner passed in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

CSO: 2020/3

ALBANIA

CAMI READS HOXHA GREETINGS TO 3D SHOCK BRIGADE

AU072000 Tirana ATA in English 1815 GMT 7 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, 7 October [ATA] amidst a revolutionary enthusiasm the 41st anniversary of the formation of the 3d shock brigade was celebrated today in the village of Arbana, Tirana District.

In the name of the Central Committee of the party, the party committee and the executive committee of the district people's council, the former partisans of the 3d shock brigade etc wreaths were laid at the lapidary dedicated to this event.

Attending the rally organised on this occasion were also the alternate member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party and the first secretary of the general council of the democratic front of Albania Xhorxhi Robo and other comrades.

Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Foto Cami read out the message of greeting that the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has sent to the former partisans and cadres of the 3d shock brigade on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of its formation.

With my mind and heart I am amongst you, just like 41 years ago when we gathered to form the brigade, the greeting says among others this event is indelible for me, just like for all of you the battle of Arbana, which marks the day of the creation of the 3d shock brigade, showed your determination, courage and spirit of action. In cooperation with the forces of Peza group and with the brave and patriot armed peasants of the nearby zone, you forced the Germans to withdraw shamefully leaving scores of killed enemies in the battlefield, when they attacked frontally from the zone of Arbana, from the shores of Erzen river.

Shortly after the victory attained in Arbana, the roar of the cannon of the 3d shock brigade, which hit the building where the Quisling Assembly was being held, was heard in the capital. This action filled the fathers of the nation with fear and it did not allow them, being gathered by Gestapo, to seal easily and clamorously the act of shame and treason. The shells of the cannon of your brigade smashed to smithereens the hopes and demagogic of the Nazis and some Albanian sold-out collaborators who had put themselves completely in their service to deceive the people and showed to the enemies that the Albanian people, under the leadership of the party would continue to struggle to the end.

The victories of this unit of our national liberation army were made known all over the country, the greeting continues, but the struggles and the bravery of the effectives of the 3d Brigade would be made known also during the numerous fightings in central Albania, in the south and the north. This brigade was to become known also among the Kosovar brothers who fought side by side with you for the liberation of a number of regions and cities beyond the state borders from the German Nazis and their collaborators. The name of the 3d Shock Brigade would be mentioned by the population of the zones of Sandjak and Macedonia, where it fought and shed the blood for their liberation, thus accomplishing its internationalist duty with honour.

The effectives of your brigade made countless sacrifices and many of its partisans and cadres laid down their lives for the great cause of the party and people, for the liberation of the homeland and the establishment of the people's power.

The celebration of the marked events of our glorious national liberation war is turned into a great joy for the whole people. This year joy is greater in the context of the 40th anniversary of the homeland. The successes scored in economy, education, culture, science and defence enhance our joy, make our festivities more beautiful, but at the same time lay down greater tasks and responsibility to safeguard and carry forward the victories of socialist Albania, the greeting says in conclusion.

The message of greetings was received with powerful applauses and acclamations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Foto Cami greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the council of ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. Among others he pointed out the heroism of the partisans of this brigade and its long fighting activity, he spoke also about the traditions of the national liberation war which have become today an inexhaustable source of inspiration for the entire people etc.

His speech was often punctuated by the enthusiastic applauses and acclamations of those present for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The cooperativists of Arabana and the surrounding villages saw off with love the former partisans of the 3d Shock Brigade.

CSO: 2020/3

MARKO READS HOXHA GREETINGS TO 24TH BRIGADE

AU071949 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 7 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, 7 October [ATA] Amidst a revolutionary enthusiasm the people of the District of Kukes celebrated today the 40th anniversary of the formation of the 24th Shock Brigade.

In the name of the Central Committee of the party, the party committee and the executive committee of the District People's Council, in the name of the former partisans of the 24th Shock Brigade etc, wreaths were laid at the Lapidary dedicated to the formation of the brigade.

On this occasion, a great popular rally was organised in the village of Bicaj. Attending it were also the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party and the vice president of the presidium of the people's assembly, Rita Marko, leading cadres of the party and state power in the district and others.

Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Rita Marko read out the greeting that the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha had sent to the former partisans and cadres of the 24th Shock Brigade on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its formation.

You are gathered to celebrate an unforgettable event for you and for the entire brave and freedom-loving people of the District of Kukes, the 40th anniversary of the formation of the 24th Shock Brigade, the greeting says among others. The creation of this new large unit of our heroic national liberation army was a result of the growth of the liberation movement of the people of your district, who were never subjugated by the foreigners and never laid down their arms.

The party gave the force and the real meaning to the broad antifascist national liberation movement of the Albanian people, that is why, in your district, just as everywhere, the people took up arms and rushed with hatred on the German Nazis and the treacherous chieftains, who through terror and trickery tried in vain to deceive and subjugate them. The blow of the 24th Shock Brigade fell powerfully on the German convoys moving on Kukes-Prizren Road, on the enemy posts in the vicinity of the former city of Kukes and on the mercenaries of the notorious traitor Muhamrem Bajraktari. In the struggle for the liberation of the capital and the city of Shkodra, you, the partisans and experienced

cadres of the battalion of Luma, the best sons of this region and of that of Gora and other areas of your district, who filled the ranks of this brigade, displayed numerous feats of courage and heroism and, led by the party carried aloft the ancient fighting traditions of your grandparents and ancestors, inherited from generation to generation.

Albania was liberated, the greeting continues, but it had to be defended and cleared from the remnants of reaction, therefore you, responding to the call of the party, did not lay down the arms and did not stop the struggle. Other martyrs after the country's liberation were added to those who fell during the war, their memory will remain immortal for you, for the people of Kukes and entire Albania. Their example has inspired and will always inspire us in the struggle and continuous efforts for the defence of the freedom and the construction of socialism.

Forty years are being completed since our people are living free and happily in their socialist homeland. The brilliant successes we have scored in the constant strengthening of the economy and defence of the country, of which you are rightly proud, are a deed of the steel like will and high patriotism of our free people. That is why we are always on guard of these victories and will not spare our sweat and toil to carry them always forward, the greeting concludes.

The message of greetings was received with powerful applauses and acclamations for the party of labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Then, Comrade Rita Marko greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the council of ministers, the general council of the Democratic Front of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. He spoke among others about the patriotic traditions of the people of this district, the conditions under which the 24th Shock Brigade was formed, its fighting road, the heroism of its partisans and underlined the contribution that the people of the Kukes District have made after liberation to the constructive work to change the view of the country. He dwelt on the deep economic and social transformations, and the rapid all round development of the country, which has brought about the ceaseless raising of the material and cultural well being of the people.

His speech was often punctuated by the enthusiastic applauses and acclamations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Today the former evening, [as received] partisans were invited to the families of the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding villages.

CSO: 2020/3

BULGARIA

STATE, PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEE SESSION

AU051954 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Oct 84

[Text] A session of the State and People's Control Committee was held in Sofia today. The session discussed the results of mass control checks on the quality of concrete and steel elements and construction-assembling work in the building of housing units. It was ascertained that this quality does not yet correspond to the increased requirements. Numerous deviations from the established norms of construction have been allowed to occur, owing to which the construction of 34 housing units had to be stopped.

The State and People's Control Committee instructed the Ministry of Construction and Territorial Settlement to eliminate these shortcomings as soon as possible.

At its session the Committee also reviewed a number of questions connected with the growing of spring crops and with the harvest. Shortcomings and violations have occurred in various okrugs. The necessary transportation means for collecting the rich harvest have not been ensured, spare parts and packing materials are in short supply, and this also applies to artificial fertilizers. In most cases, instead of eliminating the subjective shortcomings, the farmers are using bad weather conditions as a cover for their shortcomings. The Committee instructed the leadership of the national agro-industrial union, as well as all departments dealing with harvest work, to apply economic and administrative sanctions against all responsible economic leaders with a view to ensuring a high quality harvest.

CSO: 2200/4

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO SENEGAL--A BCP delegation led by Trifon Pashov, Gabrovo Okrug BCP Committee, first secretary, yesterday left for Senegal to attend the second regular congress of Senegal's Independence and Labor Party which will be held from 28 to 30 September. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Sep 84 p 6]

BONEV MEETS DPRK DELEGATION--Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, [passage omitted] who is visiting Bulgaria. During the talks a review was made on the tasks stemming from the decisions made by our party and state leaders Todor Zhivkov and Kim Il-song in Sofia in June 1984. Ha Tong-yun, DPRK ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended the talks. [Summary] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Sep 84 p 6]

HELSINKI MAYOR VISITS STOICHKOV--Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of construction, territorial settlement organization and architecture, today received the delegation of Helsinki led by its Mayor Raymo Ilaksini [as heard]. In friendly talks, it was emphasized that cooperation between Sofia and Helsinki was contributing to resolving the problems of the two capitals. The guests acquainted themselves with the organization of the territorial settlement systems and with the possibilities for their economic development. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 27 Sep 84]

MIKHAYLOV MEETS NICARAGUAN DELEGATION--Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received the visiting working group of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, headed by (Veneca Castro). The meeting which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, gave the Nicaraguan guests an opportunity to become familiar with the tasks with which the communists and all working people in Bulgaria are presently coping in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and of the National Quality Conference. The full solidarity of the BCP with the Nicaraguan people's struggle against imperialism and reaction, and for intensifying the achievements of the Sandinista revolution was once more confirmed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 5 Oct 84]

LUKANOV RECEIVES JORDANIAN MINISTER--On 8 October Comrade Andrey Lukhanov received Jawad al-'Anani, Jordanian minister of industry, trade, and tourism, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the second session of the joint Bulgarian-Jordanian Committee on Economic and Technological Cooperation, which opened today in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Oct 84]

AMBASSADOR IN BEIJING GIVES RECEPTION--On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the PRC, Doncho Donchev, Bulgarian ambassador to Beijing, gave a dinner which was attended by Qian Qichen, vice foreign affairs minister of China, Li Xuejian, vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade, [name indistinct], chairman of the Chinese side of the joint Bulgarian-Chinese Commission for Scientific-Technological Cooperation, and other officials. On the occasion of the anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries the Chinese Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries organized a meeting with Bulgarians working in Beijing today. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 5 Oct 84]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES RSFSR'S CHEKHKARIN--On 8 October Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Yevgeniy Chekharin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and the delegation led by him, which is taking part in the events marking the Days of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship. Comrade Todor Zhivkov most cordially greeted the representatives of the great Soviet country and expressed great satisfaction with the scope and content of the events included in the Days of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, which correspond with the state and development of our friendship. Our first party and state leader stressed that our entire people is expecting the events with great interest, and expressed conviction that they will be a new stimulus to further developing friendship between our countries, parties, and peoples. The meeting was attended by Comrade Georgi Yordanov; Nacho Papazov, chairman of the All-People's Committee on Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship; and Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Oct 84]

ZHIVKOV INAUGURATES TEACHERS INSTITUTE--On 9 October Comrade Todor Zhivkov inaugurated in the town of Pravets the campus of the faculty of physical education teachers of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of Physical Education. The inauguration was attended by Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education; Trendafil Marchinski, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union of Physical Culture and Sport; Nikolay Dyulgerov, first secretary of the Sofia Okrug BCP Committee; teachers and students; and many citizens. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Oct 84]

HTA HEAD ELECTED AEAP PRESIDENT--Zurich, 29 Sep (HTA)--The annual general assembly of the Aliance Europeene des Agences de Presse [AEAP] ended in Zurich yesterday. Mr Boyan Traykov, the HTA director general, was elected the alliance's president. [Text] [Sofia HTA in English 1445 GMT 29 Sep 84]

FILIPOV TOURING SILISTRA OKRUG--Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, participated in a joint session of the Silistra BCP Okrug Committee, and of the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee. Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of the Silistra Okrug BCP Committee, read a report on the plan fulfillment for the okrug's socioeconomic development since the beginning of the 5-year plan period and in 1984. Comrade Grisha Filipov pointed out the necessity of most fully utilizing all available reserves uncovered by the workers collectives, of increasing labor productivity, and of saving raw materials. He pointed out the tremendous role played by the new economic mechanism whose opportunities should be most fully exploited. He pointed out the main trends in preparing the plan for 1985 which is the last year of the current 5-year plan period. Comrade Grisha Filipov visited the organizational technical equipment plant and the metal-cutting plant of the Silistra machine combine. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Oct 84] Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, continued his visit to Silistra Okrug today. Accompanied by Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of Silistra Okrug party committee, and other okrug leaders, Grisha Filipov visited some agricultural regions where he became acquainted with certain urgent agricultural tasks and with the organizational work for their prompt and qualitative accomplishment. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Oct 84]

CSO: 2200/4

STATISTICS ON APPLICANTS IN EDUCATION PRESENTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] A skilled workers plan, approved by the Czech Government in July 1982, called for the placing of 151,840 elementary school students during last year. A total of 99.1 percent of the planned number were placed, because some students took advantage of the option to continue attending elementary school and finish it through the ninth grade.

The best results were achieved in the enrollment of young people into teaching--up to 101 percent. Full enrollment was reached by all krajs except Southern Moravia. The plan for priority teaching was 100 percent successful as well. The best results occurred in the organizations of fuel and energy, transportation, agriculture and food industry branches.

Ninety-eight percent of the planned number of students entered high school, but even here girls traditionally greatly exceed the planned numbers, whereas boys do not reach them. Admissions to vocational secondary schools were fulfilled by 97.3 percent. While interest was great in some of the schools, it was weaker in the case of technical schools. The projected number of girls was not reached in any kraj.

As far as the placement of graduates of vocational secondary schools and colleges is concerned, it was generally accomplished with a view to the needs of society, according to information from the Czechoslovak Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Results were good in placing graduates in the machine-tool and electrical equipment fields, hence of technical schools generally; the placement of medical and pharmaceutical school graduates was relatively good. There still remains the problem of filling vacant places in the North Bohemia Kraj. Last year, only 43 percent of the planned number of doctors took up work, 17 percent of pharmacists, and not quite 44 percent of teachers. The Czech Government adopted measures designed to improve conditions for graduates entering these particular positions, but, as is becoming evident, even this year's provisional results are not much better.

According to preliminary results as of 1 July, this year's enrollment of young people into priority teaching was fulfilled by 103.4 percent. This is exceeded greatly by branches of the fuel and energy, agriculture and food, and building industries; again, the machine-tool industry fell considerably short of the plan. The electrical equipment industry achieved only 86.7 percent of enrollment.

12605  
CSO: 2400/436

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TOLERATION IN RELIGION DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Jaroslav Mazal: "Faith in the Powers of Man"]

[Text] Recently we brought to the attention of our readers an interesting book by the Soviet scholar L. Velikovich, "The Vatican's Black Guard." In it he describes the origins, expansion of the range of activities and characteristic machiavellian practices of the Society of Jesus, the correct designation of the Jesuit order. One letter, which we received shortly afterwards, contained the following questions: "Why are we publishing such books with a critical antireligious emphasis here? Why don't you, communists, let people believe what they want to believe, why are you arguing against religion, against belief in God?"

The questions as posed by the writer of this letter attest to--let him not be angry at us--his obvious bias or unwillingness to see things realistically, as they are. Were he really to contemplate them honestly and without prejudice, he would certainly admit to one simple, basic truth: The socialist state, its leading political power, the communists, have never ordered, have never prescribed what a citizen of this country can believe and what he cannot believe. To order someone to change his deep inner convictions would be no less absurd than, for example, to forbid the trees to grow or the birds to fly. In any case, history provides numerous examples of representatives of ruling classes trying to destroy the faith and hopes of the people, but never succeeding for long....

Indeed, what is distinguished for its singular intolerance, since we are discussing this subject, has been religion, which, as long as it was the dominant religion, prohibited people to think as they wished. The Muslims, for example, persecuted the outstanding scientist Avicenna, the Jews the great philosopher Baruch Spinoza, Catholic inquisitors burned in Rome, in the Campo di Fiori, the philosopher and astronomer Giordano Bruno. And what about our own Jan Hus, was he not burned alive precisely because he did not want to believe and think according to the dictates of the then all-powerful official Catholic hierarchy?

Only just before the war, a teacher was punished here by bourgeois school authorities because she read to her pupils the epigrams of Karel Havlicek

Borovsky. Was it not prohibited in certain American states, because influential church functionaries enforced it, to teach, for example, Darwin's theory of evolution? Is not the Vatican today waging a broad, frontal campaign against realistic socialism, against the Marxist-Leninist worldview? Is it not stirring up a whole series of slanders addressed at the domestic policies of socialist countries? Was there anyone in the higher church hierarchy who stood up and openly criticized the militant and aggressive imperialist powers that denied nations--contrary to God's commandments--the right to live? No, if there are no flames rising to the sky from pyres on which once burned tens of thousands of those for whom convictions were more precious than life, the credit is not to the church. It did not become more tolerant, humane, better, but it was the changed social conditions, accompanied by progress in the sciences, as well as the weakening of its general position in the world, that forced the church to adopt different tactics and retreat in its fight.

Our state, and our socialist constitution as its highest law, ensure freedom of religious belief and practice of religious worship--as long as they are not misused to mask antistate, antipeople's activities. However, legalization and strict observance of the principle of freedom of religion and performance of religious ceremonies, as well as the fact that our laws do not differentiate between believers and atheists from the standpoint of rights and responsibilities of citizens, do not yet mean that the state is indifferent to the cultural maturity of its people, that it is not interested in the extent to which they are burdened by religious dogma and illusions.

All religions inhibit man's moral development, which molds his best characteristics. To be sure, religion necessarily causes dichotomy in moral consciousness and creates two rival authorities--the authority of God and the authority of the society in which man lives. Morality that is derived, as it were, from God's demands inevitably clashes with the moral demands which flow out of the needs of societal life, because life keeps moving forward, with new problems arising that cannot be solved by dogmas formulated centuries ago. Therefore, a man of religious persuasion has to have a dual morality, which necessarily leads to dissimulation and hypocrisy--traits that are deeply abhorrent to any honorable and decent man.

Our common planned goal is to build a mature socialist society. This resolution can be fulfilled only on the basis of science, political science, a scientifically directed national economy and all societal life, through a struggle against all the powers, traditions and reactionary anachronisms of the old world. That is why no socialist state can rely on religion, religious ideology or faith in supernatural forces, or believe in and wait for miracles, for God's help. It must rely on science and the activities of individual institutions based on science, on the creative, revolutionary powers of the people. There is no other way to a better tomorrow and a more contented, happier life.

True, there is one paradox. Those who have freed themselves from the illusory belief in almighty God and heavenly bliss after death, who struggle for earthly justice, for a happier existence for people here on earth, sometimes also are called, because they are atheists, unbelievers. This designation is truly

inappropriate and inaccurate. Even communists have their faith, a faith more steadfast, more real, than that of many others. It is belief in the possibility of a more just order in the world, in further social progress, in bringing about a more dignified lot in life for all people, in the attainability of these ideals through man's efforts, because only people--only they themselves--can create and fulfill their own happiness.

12605  
CSO: 2400/436

RELATIONS, CHANGES IN CHINA RECEIVE ATTENTION

PRC Economic Changes

AU041211 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 1 Oct 84 pp 3, 4

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "China in the Transformation Process"]

[Excerpts] A great military parade (the first since 1959) and a people's procession (the first since 1970) will commemorate on 1 October in Beijing the 35th anniversary of the PRC. To the sound of fanfares and slogans, half a million people are displaying China's return to internal stability and showing the strength of the reorganized and modernized, army. According to the XINHUA agency's statement prior to the national day, the procession is meant to pay testimony to the changes that have occurred in China in recent years; economic, scientific and technological changes, as well as the development of both conventional and strategic armaments.

There is no sector of Chinese life today that has been untouched by the renovating passion of the adherents of transformations. In the first stage of the "general repair to the work style," personnel changes in the leadership teams of all 29 provinces and autonomous regions were made, subjecting the party and administrative apparatus to another clean-up, but this time from a different angle to what was practiced previously.

In the economic sphere, China cannot imitate anyone and has to find its own solutions to suit the cultural traditions and characteristics of society. The most characteristic changes to "socialism a la Chinoise" are no doubt the changes in the production system of rural areas, involving 80 percent of the population. The peasants have not received back the land, which remains collective property, but right now they enjoy relative independence from the authorities, which is already a big change. This phenomenon has received extra dimensions because of the transformation of people's communes into ordinary economic units (not the administrative units they used to be), governed by the profitability of their production. The economic role of cities toward the surrounding rural areas is growing. It is intended, though with considerably greater care, to restructure industrial production toward a system permitting profitability, with bonuses for workers according to the results achieved by enterprises. The number of small private crafts enterprises employing several people, usually from the same family, is growing all the time. The great losses in science and culture, in educating young

people, and in preparing cadres for new and already specified tasks, are being made good.

All of this together gives the impression that today's China is one huge experimental laboratory in which more than one change, and important changes at that, are still to occur. However, the results are already visible: Industrial output is rising, agriculture is becoming more productive and local administrative bodies and persons managing production are more energetic.

Does this political and social process that has been pervading China since the death of the "Great Helmsman" finally mean an end to the "Maoist era" and a permanent entry into the world of economic reality? One cannot answer this question today. One can say, however, that today's times are a victory for those who have been trying since the 1970's (in other words still during Mao's lifetime) to give the country's development a more technocratic rather than ideological character, neutralizing the effects of the "great leap" and the degeneration caused by the "cultural revolution."

But even so, the struggle between the idea of "modernizing China" and the vestiges of Maoism will continue for years. This is a struggle on the scale of a country with a population of over 1 billion today.

#### Science Meeting Noted

LD220326 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 20 Sep 84 LD

[Text] A meeting of the Polish-Chinese Commission for Scientific and Technological Cooperation has ended in Peking with the drafting of a program for cooperation for 1985. The number of topics covered next year is to double, mainly in the area of mining as well as in the engineering and food processing industries.

CSO: 2600/37

'NOT' ORGAN RUNS UNOFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF 18 JUNE DEBATE

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 31, 29 Jul 84 pp 15-16, 32-33

[Article by Krzysztof Bien: "How Far Is It to the Goal?"]

[Text] The process of implementing the economic reform has been in progress for two and a half years. It aims toward a general reconstruction of the principles of functioning of our economy, basing it on the development on criteria of economic efficiency, independence of economic units and a broad participation of society in comanagement of the means of production. How far advanced are we in the realization of this process? How much separates us still from the desired economic system whose shape was outlined in "Directions of Economic Reform" and sanctioned by the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress? What, in spite of many foreseen and unforeseen circumstances, has already been realized?

The occasion for compiling such an accounting for the reform is the second report in a series (the first was issued last year) on the process of implementation and the results of the economic reform in the second year of its implementation, that is, in 1983. This report was prepared by the state plenipotentiary for economic reform. After comments of the Council of Ministers are considered, it will become a state document and as such will be sent to the Sejm for deliberation. Earlier, even before the state debate, the plenipotentiary's report was the subject of an evaluation by the Commission for Economic Reform. The chairman of this commission, Premier, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, participated in this meeting on 18 June 1984.

What follows is an edited, unofficial rendition of key issues raised during the open discussion period which was held during this meeting and which went on for several hours.

### Basic Questions

The premier posed six fundamental questions before the members of the commission:

--Is the implementation of the reform compatible with its basic principles?

--Is the rate of change adequate? In which sector and why are there blocks and delays?

--Was the effect of reform mechanisms adequately strong and in keeping with socioeconomic policies; specifically, did it contribute to the dynamics of production, to increasing efficiency of production, restoring market equilibrium and counteracting the pressure of inflation?

--Do the reform mechanisms create adequate possibilities and motivation for resolving long-term problems of national development, particularly in the area of technical progress and in the area of economic cooperation with other countries?

--What are, and, more important, what will be the social results of ideopolitical functioning of the economy according to the new principles? How will they affect the situation of various classes, social strata and working groups? How will they affect social consciousness?

--What are the most important conditions for proper continuation of the reform in keeping with the line adopted by the Ninth Congress; what are the potential threats to this process?

These are, as W. Jaruzelski stressed, fundamental questions. We must ask them, however, and ask them not in an abstract, but in a concrete way, considering the realities and the experience gained. Many of these questions were dealt with in the course of the report. But some of these questions are not adequately answered in it. Many of the manifestations described in the report require further, deeper analysis as to the reasons and mechanisms of their development.

Such then was the discussion. It was many-sided and pursued many lines (it was analytical). As a matter of fact, less time was given in it to those problems of reform for which good, acceptable solutions had already been found. More attention was given to the minus points of the reform, the ineffectiveness of economic instruments used, the inadequacies of the conceptions and obviously the prospects of further changes in the economy and in society.

In spite of the complexity of the multidimensional character of most of the more than 20 statements, a few basic trends, or rather blocks of trends, can be singled out in them. A great deal of attention was concentrated on the problems of the central direction of economic processes, the functioning of new economic mechanisms, social acceptance of the changes taking place as a

result of the reform and the effect of reform mechanisms on various economic processes, including, particularly, the rationalization of investment processes, returning market equilibrium, conserving raw materials and supplies and exploiting fixed assets. It is characteristic that little time was devoted in the discussion to problems of functioning of enterprises.

The premier put before the members of the commission and the invited guests basic, specific questions to be discussed. Anyone who expected the answers to be essentially univocal would be mistaken. The Commission for Economic Reform, as Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski noted, is a body with ramifications. The question that should be asked -- the first to ask it in the course of the discussion was Prof. Jozef Popkiewicz -- is how should its work be organized so that, despite the number of members, it would be an organ efficient in action. All the more so since the members of the commission vary not only in profession and baggage of life experience, but primarily because their views of the economic and social phenomena in our economy and society are different. Actually, however, the image of the complexity of the functional problems of our economy gains much from these differences. Perhaps this is more important than a formal agreement of views.

#### What Is the Diagnosis?

Much time was given in almost every statement to the diagnosis of the state of our economy and an evaluation of the effect of changes that the economic reform has already made. The opinions were not monolithic. The greater majority who spoke were in agreement that the economic situation of our country improved decidedly in the past year, and that this is due in large measure to the implementation of the economic reform. Possibly we owe this optimistic tone of the discussion to the fact that at its beginning, the state plenipotentiary for economic reform, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, by way of completing the report, gave the first, initial results of a broad-scale poll on the question of expected economic results. The results of the poll thus far (more than 600 responses were received) indicate that in the current year, we can expect a 5 percent increase in production, an 8 percent increase in productivity, but only 33 percent of the enterprises anticipate an increase in compensations of more than 10 percent.

This note of optimism in the diagnosis of the present economic situation and in the economic horoscopes for the future was supported in many of the subsequent statements. Prof Jozef Popkiewicz called attention to the exceptionally weak evaluation by the community and expert bodies of the effect of the reform on overcoming the crisis. Prof Popkiewicz asked if, in general, the battle against the crisis would have any effect without the reform. In 1982 there was a radical change in the system of functioning of our economy. It has been functioning in its present form only since 1983. And that was, as it developed, the crisis year.

The statement of Prof Sylwester Zawadzki was similar in tone. He gave much recognition to the content of the report under discussion and to the reform itself. The results of the past year are evidence that those were mistaken

who spoke against undertaking the economic reform during the period of crisis and serious market unbalance. If, in comparison with 1978, production dropped by 10 percent and this production is carried out by 5 percent fewer workers, and if those who are working work 1/6 less time than in 1978 (free Saturdays), and if, in addition, we compare that then 7 billion dollars were pumped into our economy, and now we have a surplus of exports over imports, then the results may not be as bad as they are generally taken to be.

Perhaps most optimistic was the statement of Dr. Marek Greniewski who stressed that the reform freed much initiative, initiative whose effects could not be fully appreciated in the past year, but which will certainly bear more fruit in 1984. In his opinion, based on personal sounding of the opinions of enterprises, we can expect an increase in production of as much as 10 percent in the current year.

For balance, there was no lack of pessimistic evaluations of our economic situation. Particularly critical was the voice of the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Franciszek Kubiczek. In his opinion things are not so rosy. The current year again "will bear the fruit" of an overrun of expenditures on investments, and this by as much as 100 billion zlotys. Personal income is rising in excess of the plan. Several advantageous system changes have been introduced into export (since last April), but thus far the situation is not the best. It has not made it possible to discontinue implementing the idea of government orders, operational programs and mandatory intervention in materials supply.

Food for diversity of evaluations in the diagnosis was provided by the plenipotentiary's report itself, and specifically, the discrepancy it pointed up between the factual and financial results achieved in 1983 in the conservation of raw materials and supplies. An increase in material costs of production was noted (more rapid than the cost of production itself) and a simultaneous drop in consumption in units of physical key raw materials and supplies needed to produce a unit of national income. The first to call attention to this discrepancy during the discussion was Stefan Jedrychowski.

Minister W. Baka explained this discrepancy later in a final summation of statements by citing the imprecise statistical level of the Central Office of Statistics, but earlier the discrepancy had been given a significantly broader elucidation in the statements of Henryk Kisiel and Prof Czeslaw Skowronek. Kisiel's statement was longer, was supported by many figures and concluded with an expression of concern about the financial costs of a unit of national income. Meanwhile a decrease in the costs is the only real road to success for the reform. Prof Skowronek spoke of the actual costs, but his conclusion was the same.

Exhausting the theme of diversity of conclusions of analyses, Prof Skowronek indicated, moreover, that such discrepancies will also be disclosed in a compendium of information contained in the report of the plenipotentiary and in the report on the implementation and effects of the savings program.

## Reform of the Center

The spread of the evaluations of reform achievements was great. But even in the most optimistic statements there was no lack of criticism of the effectiveness of entire systemic resolutions and specific mechanisms. Most important, however, was the question, what next? Where is the key to further success of the reform? Docent Henryk Sadownik attempted to answer this question, probably the most pressing today.

Docent Sadownik took up the subject of necessary changes in the system of managing the economy; these would be changes of organizational structures, including primarily a division of decision-making power and responsibility, the method of planning and the method of evaluation (of management personnel also), so that the new, reconstructed system could make the right economic decisions. The effects of the reform thus far are encouraging, but the most difficult stage lies before us, the stage of actual restructuring of management. The ease of the first steps of the reform was due to the fact that they were limited precisely to changes in the functioning of enterprises. Now it is time to reform the functioning of the center. The status of the state plenipotentiary for economic reform may be inadequate to this task.

What lies before us? Before us lies the need to undertake many actions that will serve to prepare the central rung for the continuation of the reform process. Docent Sadownik said that we must relieve the executive branch ministries of various functions that prevent them from concentrating on carrying out the functions of policy-making organs. These ministries today are overloaded with control functions. Docent Sadownik proposed concentrating all control functions in the Office of Materials Management. This is, after all, the formula anticipated in "Directions for Economic Reform."

This transfer, freeing the state administrative organs from carrying out the burdensome and punctilious control functions, will make it possible to create a basis for organic (not individual, in each office separately) organizational ordering of that rung. There are methodological proposals for accomplishing this exceptionally responsible operation in such ways as not to deprive the central organ ministries of the potential for current functioning.

The next step should be the working out of internal structures for all discrete centers at this level. These centers have unusually responsible functions that have not been fully mastered by the apparatus. These are functions connected with planning economic policy, functions of evaluating activity of enterprises and personnel. To carry them out, completely new, proper and effective information systems will be needed. In a word, what awaits us is tremendous work which, in view of the overloading of administrative organs with day-to-day affairs, cannot be done today.

Prof Cezary Jozefiak spoke convincingly of what we might expect if this is not done. We have thus far not taken a step forward in the area of recon-

structing the organizational-functional central administration. What is worse, and the plenipotentiary's report is evidence of this, we are beginning to move away from an earlier conception of reforming the center. There is a statement in the report that a directional principle has been adopted regarding the unchangeability of the executive branch structures. This cannot be left in this way. Whether the economic reform is to be or not to be depends on these changes.

The presently existing institutional structure creates a decision pattern in which particularism of enterprises is a trifling matter. Particularism, which is the rule in the conduct of enterprises when branch structures of state administration act, leads unavoidably to disintegration of the economy for which there is no remedy. Disciplining the center, making it more hierarchic, is a partial remedy, but it is only a half-measure. It does not remove the sources of the processes that disrupt the economy from the top. These fundamental points and proposals of Docent Sadownik and Prof Jozefiak were not given any more basic treatment, or even argument, in the course of further discussion. Perhaps the force of the arguments presented was too great for them to be further supported, let alone for anyone to try to undermine them.

#### **Who Is Responsible?**

Staying with the problem of functioning of the center, or at least certain of its aspects, we must say that much time in the discussion in the forum of the commission was devoted to holding the central administration accountable for the economic policy, for skill on the part of the central rung in exploiting the potentials that the reform has already created. If there are blocks to the process of overcoming the crisis and to economic growth, then what are the reasons, imperfect instruments of reform or bad economic policy?

In the course of the discussion, Prof Jozef Pajestka said that investments were one of the most serious, as yet unresolved problems of economic policy. We have used up, or are close to using up, the simple reserves of our economy. Continuation of the reform demands planning and making real structural changes. This requires new investment, meanwhile the field for maneuvering is very limited. We have an enormous mound of old, unfinished investments from the 1970's. Were we to continue them without verification, we would again find ourselves on the road leading to crisis. Those investments increase the absorption of capital, raw materials and energy by our industry. They would also increase difficulties in the labor market. Stefan Jedrychowski also spoke of this.

Prof J. Pajestka also pointed to the surprising correlation in which the closer we come to a state of equilibrium in our economy, the longer it takes to adjust ineffective control. Prof Skowronek emphasized that, what is more, economic criteria are not always decisive in the application of means of controlling production or in selecting a recipient of government orders. Government orders today give preference only to delivery, they exert no pressure for effective management or for structural change in our economy.

As Stanislaw Rostworowski said, the same thing is true in enterprises with respect to allocations. These could also be effective means of pressure on the method of management of an enterprise. Prof Skowronek indicated earlier what this could mean if, let us suppose, only half the enterprises used a net measure of production. Prof Jozef Popkiewicz spoke of ineffectiveness in the wage and price policy and in the policy of employment and investment. Dr Marek Greniewski spoke of excessive interference on the part of the bank in the decisions of independent enterprises. Prof Ludwik Bar spoke of the infractions of binding regulations by the founding organs, an example of this, perhaps, being appointments to director positions without prior competitive examinations (Prof Sylvester Zawadzki argued against this judgment).

The list of complaints with respect to economic policy was long. F. Kubiczek, however, protested strongly against placing reform and economic policy at opposite poles. Does reform have a monopoly on progress and economic policy an exclusive monopoly on conservatism? And so on -- such an impression might be made by a reading of the report and from the course of the discussion -- is it only the enterprises that want the reform, and does the center not want it?

Toward the end of the discussion, Minister Baka said that if the impression was that we are crediting the pluses to the reform and the minuses to someone else, then this happened against the intentions of the authors of the report. The reform is an undertaking that is binding in all economic matters. Whether it will prosper or not is the work not only of the plenipotentiary, but of everyone, particularly of the Planning Commission.

#### Imperfect Instruments

For the rest, the discussion did not at all glorify the instruments of economic reform. On the contrary, there was no lack of criticism of their effectiveness. The range of reservations was, however, not uniform; also varied was the degree of definition.

Sometimes these reservations took the form of enumerating existing weaknesses; at other times, however, they had the character of constructive proposals for achieving needed changes and exploiting other economic devices or even considering wholly different conceptions of solutions.

Prof Jan Mujzel said that the report expressed the belief in many places that we had already succeeded in constructing a correct system, a certain chest of tools for central direction of the national economy. At the same time, worries are based only on the fear that those making decisions will not know how to properly benefit from the tools created. Is this really true, are these tools really the right tools?

Doubt must be expressed. There are always many weak points in the system. Until the current year, for instance, it was the income tax, but fortunately it finally yielded to change. A continuing weak point, however, are the principles of creating prices, although proposals contained in the final

conclusions of the plenipotentiary's report indicate that at least as far as conceptions go, we are already close to breaking the impasse that has existed in this area since the first months of implementing the reform. Prof. Mujzel indicated that a soft spot in the system of economic tools, if not the weakest, is PFAZ (State Vocational Activation Fund). An analysis of the weakness of this instrument is accurate, but what the report proposes in the conclusion is inadequate. A deceptive faith is expressed that the present PFAZ structure can be regularized, made objective, so as to differentiate in a systematic way the anticipated coefficients of elasticity between production and compensation. It is Prof. Mujzel's opinion that such a formula cannot be worked out. The construction of PFAZ has, from the nature of the matter, an ineffective, bargaining character. It is possible that at this time we are not in a position to devise a different construction, but this possibility must not be blurred.

In the opinion of Prof. Mujzel, the lack of conception is also evident in the case of the turnover tax. It is now making a career for itself. After backing away from a progressive income tax, we acquired a taste at present for differentiating a turnover tax, to operating with it on a broad scale. Not only for the needs of social policy, which would have been understandable, not only for fiscal needs, which would also have been understandable, but for realizing that function which even last year the income tax was fulfilling, the function of regulating profitability among branches and enterprises. This leads to breaking the natural mechanism of self-regulation of the economy. The producer loses contact with the final market price. This presents the threat of a need for "hand steering" of the economy. We will not mention that, in this form, this tax reinforces the doctrine of basing prices on costs with all the weaknesses this entails. Finally, it implies broadening of administrative interference in price setting.

A third general complaint about the present motivating-financing system is the limited capability of our enterprises to effectively engage social resources. Why, after 2 1/2 years of implementing the reform, do they not have this capability? Were we successful in creating long-term motivation? This is certainly a basic matter.

And, finally, the fourth barrier: the constraint of efficiency. It is too little to encourage toward good management. What is needed is constraint. We cannot develop it if we have to deal with cost inflation. But do we have any conception of fighting cost inflation which is, after all, the driving force of the price-wage spiral? Prof. Mujzel reminded us that in the basic document, that is, in the "Directions," an alternative was indicated in statements pertaining to the tax system: an income tax (more or less the same as at present), or assessing agents of production. Why were many opposed to this second conception? Because they saw in this resolution an important element of constraint toward efficiency in the enterprise. Will resigning from assessing agents of production enable us to resolve the problem of cost inflation in some other way? No. Concluding his statements, Prof. Mujzel stressed that it seems that we should at least analyze again, perhaps even quickly, the rejected solution.

The statements of participants in the discussion also cited the weaknesses of other economic instruments of the reform. Specifically, Prof Alksander Lukaszewicz spoke about the lack of effective solutions that tie the amount of compensation to effects of work and to conservation of materials and energy. Also lacking were mechanisms that would compel better management of fixed assets of the enterprises. The theme of materials conservation was accorded broader development also in the statements of Prof Skowronek, who stressed that there is no simple mechanism that makes the amount of financial relief dependent on the size of savings in raw materials, supplies and energy.

#### Small Field of Choice

Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski attempted to present a common denominator for the problem of interdependence of principles and mechanisms of reform and the directions of economic policy that surfaced many times during the discussion. He said that it is encouraging that the interrelation of these areas has finally been clearly emphasized. There is, however, a certain danger of unhealthy ball playing: who is at fault, the reform or the economic policy? Meanwhile, there is still a third element, there is the objective situation. How narrow the field of choice is in which state policy operates and in which the reform operates. The field of choice on which there is a mound of excessive, inherited investments, a mound of indebtedness and a mound of inflaton. And then there is a fourth mound, those who still consider moves dictated by social motives. The field of choice of the authorities is narrow. They cannot do certain things, and sometimes they can only go half way. In this situation, how does the field of choice of the enterprise look? It is also narrow. But must it be so? Certain suggestions are being made. Prof Bobrowski said that the report contains an analysis of instruments used. He perceives a lack in it of a pair of brave assertions. The progressive income tax was a mistake. This must be clearly stated. It must be stated that it was contrary to efficiency. We changed the tax, but operations continue that lead to inefficient production. Production on Saturdays cannot be efficient; production gained at the cost of quality is inefficient. And, after all, can efficiency be measured in general by specific, single indices? If I save raw materials, that is as it should be, but what if it is done at the cost of greater wear and tear on machinery? There is a directional assumption of increase in efficiency, but we have too many partial measures of it. The instruments that were to compel it must be perfected, meanwhile, they often contradict each other. Greater attention must be given to the consistency of solutions.

Prof Bobrowski shared his observations that certain formulations of the report arouse reservations. For example, that the reform does not generate inflation. Perhaps it does not generate it, but does it actually create barriers against inflation? This must be expressed more carefully. The reform in itself cannot prevent inflation. Its solutions are not completely effective. PFAZ was to have been the solution, but it is not.

Finally, the last matter, directional suggestions. There are those with which Prof Bobrowski does not agree. He will put his comments in writing. He believes that what we are concerned with here is a more basic matter. These suggestions have not been hierarchically ordered. For example, it will not be possible to restore fixed capital as long as we have the burden of old investments. The resolution of that problem is dependent on technical progress. Having conceptions as to technical progress means nothing if we do not have the money to make investments that would result from this progress.

The situation is similar in the matter of attaining equilibrium. We have a chance to decrease the rate of inflation in the coming year. But this does not necessarily mean equilibrium. We may be able to convert something in investments, to do something with respect to prices or wages, but the burden of debt will continue to weigh on us for a long time still. An increase in exports is needed, but this requires a preparatory modernization of industry. In a word, all of the suggestions are justified, but cannot be realized in a day. They must contain some sort of calendar, what is to be done first, what next.

#### Who Loses, Who Gains?

Much time in the discussion at the commission forum was devoted also to the problem of social consequences and social acceptance of the reform. Prof. Kazimierz Doktor stressed that the report of the plenipotentiary contains an attempt at this evaluation (in last year's report this subject was not touched). But certain questions of interest to consumers remain unclear, blurred. From the report we do not learn, after all, who, in which social sectors, loses, and who gains from the reform. And certainly the distribution of these losses and gains is uneven with respect to classes, levels and groups. Society wants to know when the benefits of reform will be visible at the work places and, which may be most important, to the housewife. This is the final point of visibility for the effectiveness of management.

What does society think of the reform? Does it express support for it? Prof. Doktor said that at the beginning of the reform there was definite support, at the 79-80 percent level. Now it is growing weaker. According to studies done in 1983, only 40 percent of the people are optimistic as to the results of reform. We must take into account what society expects from the concluded reform. Everyone believes that it is a process, but it might be well to say sometimes that it is one of its horizons. An example might be the conclusion of the reform of the center. An analysis of legal documents indicates that the staff-functional ministries are not thoroughly planned, equipping them is scarcely finished, few of them have new statutes, and society is very sensitive in the matter of reforming the central administration.

Finally we must, and this is a very real social phenomenon, account for the existence in our society, speaking in marxist terms, of thick layers of false consciousness. These are connected with group interests. It is enough to glance at how many enterprises and their workforces benefit from appropria-

tions, how many take advantage of relief, how many benefit from the crisis. The layers of conservatism lie not only at the top, but also in the enterprises. It would be worthwhile to expose those layers of false consciousness to the light of day. They are the true opponent of reform.

Prof Jerzy Wiatr addressed the problem of disproportion between society's evaluation of the implementation of the reform and its objective economic results. It is his opinion that it is not enough to recognize, as the report assesses the matter, that this is only a question of educating society and of good propaganda. This problem is significantly deeper. If the report speaks of a whole program of education in the area of social justice, then the question arises as to whether this is only a problem for the education program or is it also a problem of the social justice policy that is correlative with the reform. In a word, are we to educate with words alone, or with deeds also?

Meanwhile, there are many manifestations of social injustice. We are not talking about speculators and Polonia companies. That is a played-out theme. There are certainly other manifestations. A dangerous and growing disproportion is forming between whole social-professional categories that can benefit from the reform and categories that, regardless of the kind of work they do, cannot benefit from the reform, categories whose workplaces are not included in the benefits of the reform. Were the reform to operate properly in the area of wages, such disproportions could not exist.

A confirmation of this duality was the statement of a new member of the Commission for Economic Reform, Tadeusz Kozlowski, a representative of the trade union movement, vice chairman of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions. He suggested a need to look at the effects of the reform through a prism of concern for daily life. He emphasized the existence of social injustices, the cause of which is a lack of connection between good work and good pay. This provokes a universal opposition on the part of workers. Desiring to ameliorate this, enterprises concentrate their attention on getting relief. The workers have bad feelings about the methods of setting prices. If we cannot work out better methods, we will not control inflation and we will not decrease waste that is included in the prices of end products. These are only examples. At the bottom, among the throngs of trade unionists, there is very little optimism about the reform. Economic reform does not reach the broad masses.

There were significantly more problems flagged in the course of the meeting of the Commission for Economic Reform, which lasted more than 6 hours (counting only the real discussion time). The state plenipotentiary for economic reform, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, responded to the questions and doubts raised with respect to the report. Because of the late hour, the responses were rather brief, laconic. They were of an informative nature, since not many of the problems raised in the discussion could be argued about. Actually, the discussion pointed up the differences in certain diagnoses and the difference in interpretation and proposals for specific actions, but these differences were not, after all, generally diametrically

opposed to what the report contained. They were based on a difference of outlooks, a difference in points of view. The report, on the other hand, and more specifically, its draft, is the independent work of the plenipotentiary, and the commission only expresses its opinion. After it is discussed among members of Council of Ministers, this report will be sent to the Sejm, to its separate commissions, and there, with the status of a state report, it will probably be the subject of severe evaluation. In general, Baka supported his optimistic evaluation of the effects of the reform and the expected economic growth.

At the end of the meeting, Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner, who made his debut as second vice chairman of the Commission for Economic Reform by presiding over the second session of the meeting after the break, shared his reflections. He reminded us that the report is an administration document since it is the administration that is making the reform and the administration will present it to the Sejm. Stressing this is so important because here and there voices are heard that seem to imply that it is the administration or some part of it that is opposed to economic reform. On the contrary, we are all most interested in having the reform implemented as quickly and effectively as possible. At the same time, we must always remember that the reform is a means, not a goal. That is, it is a means of achieving effective management. This is what we are aiming at. In connection with this, if any one of the mechanisms proves to be ineffective, it requires analysis and change. This is a source of corrections.

Premier Messner also referred to the problem that was most animatedly discussed during the meeting, specifically, the mutual connections between the reform and economic policy. He stressed that in realizing a purposeful, socioeconomic policy, we must take into account the realities of today and of daily life and the sociopolitical pressures that are being felt in the country. The administration is frequently under sharp attack. It must adapt its actions to the situation, which may not always be in keeping with the theoretical, purposeful model of economic reform, and these realities must be considered. This is the basis of a plea for understanding and a plea for less emotion. Otherwise it would be easy to make marginal, poorly based evaluations.

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STATE ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING CENTER PERSONNEL ADDRESSED

AU081545 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP--Premier and Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke at a meeting with the top graduates, students and staff of the Postgraduate Training Center for State Administrative Employees at the above center in Warsaw on 2 October. He warmly congratulated the graduates of the center's first course of study, especially those who completed this course with distinction. The premier thanked the center's teachers and all its scientific employees who support the functioning of this very important institution in the training system of administrative cadres.

The experience gained during the center's initial pioneering period of activity should be used during its subsequent activity. We regard today's meeting and exchange of opinions, the premier stressed, as a contribution to the forthcoming 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which will deal with problems concerning the strengthening of our state and the development of socialist democracy.

Describing the present period, W. Jaruzelski observed that our history does not offer many patterns on which to base an improvement in the functioning of state bodies. What is more, an improvement in the state administration is often carried out during a sharp struggle in which obstacles have to be overcome and in which difficulties are experienced while introducing wide-ranging systematic transformations. All of this emphasizes the importance of studies organized by the center, and of the practical use of the knowledge and abilities of the center's graduates.

Referring to the functioning of the state, the premier drew attention, among other things, to views which often clash with each other, views concerning the inseparable issues of democracy and discipline, decisionmaking and self-government.

Democracy, he stressed, is in particular a democratic process serving the formulation of the correct and best decision. It means, for example, the holding of consultations, the use of advice, the participation of society in the joint author of these decisions. A lot has already been achieved this way. But this is only one side of the functioning of the state and society. We must all remember the other, complex side; the need for a disciplined, full, and consistent carrying out of decisions. Without this, not even the

best democratically shaped decision means much. This issue must be at the center of attention of the state administration and of the executive authorities. These should see to it that the activities which form the implementation of our socialist democratic reform program meet with society's approval.

Next, the premier referred to the "Code of Duties for PPR State Officials" that was published in July and is currently being implemented, and discussed the expectations connected with it. The importance of this code can be felt especially in field units of state administration which by the nature of things are under direct social control.

Discussing the problem of the administration's prestige, W. Jaruzelski stressed that the effectiveness of their activity is the basic yardstick for measuring the quality of the work of offices. This effectiveness must also be accompanied by ethical sensitivity, an energetic combating of all negative phenomena and facts, an ability to deal exhaustively with every human issue, and an observance of discipline and of the principle of superiority of state interests.

Referring to the talks, the premier stressed that the above goals, plus the shaping of fair and objective assessments of our administration by society, should be encouraged by the new cadre policy, which foresees a wider participation of young people in state administration.

In conclusion, W. Jaruzelski expressed the hope that the center would closely cooperate with other national scientific research establishments which deal with problems of socialist democracy and the functioning of the state and state bodies. He wished the center's graduates success at their new employment posts, and he wished the students success in study.

CSO: 2600/34

POLAND

BRIEFS

SZALAJDA AT LENIN STEELWORKS--While on a visit to Krakow on 25 September, Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda met with senior political and administrative officers at Poland's largest industrial plant, the Lenin Iron and Steelworks. The talks that were held focused on critical production and social problems facing the plant and its employees. A great deal of attention was focused in particular on the implementation of the decisions reached by the government commission that relate to this plant, i.e., the fulfillment of the rulings passed at the extramural session of the Government Presidium held at the Lenin Iron and Steelworks. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/30

ROMANIA

WRITER CENSURED FOR DEFAMING HISTORICAL FIGURES

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 8 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Zaharia Sangeorzan]

[Text] Dana Dimitriu was, I think, fascinated by the Ion Ghica myth ("Prince Ghica," Vol. I, Editura Cartea Romaneasca, Buc. 1982, 271 p, Vol. II, Buc. 1984, 407 p). Could it also be a matter of a Calinescu "incentive"? Ion Ghica's portrait in the "History...." by G. Calinescu causes imagination to create a romantic fabric: "Ion Ghica's life is not so significant as it is replete with adventures. The man does not have the pathetic exaltation of Eliade or the steppe Don Quixote combativity of Hasdeu. To the contrary, he was a very cautious person, who plotted revolutions and vanished in time when the brutes appeared, assuring for himself, through his relations, good situations in the camp of the high and mighties, to come back later and derive advantage from his involvement in everything." An educated man -- says I. Valentineanu in "Biography of Great Men Written by a Little Man" -- but unprincipled and utterly scheming. "Ghica was the bete noire of Eliade, who saw in him a recognized traitor. But if we would like to consider Ghica as a "Baboi,"\* an ingenuous and diabolical plotter, subtle Graeculus, we are disarmed by the patriotic feelings, the waves of neat and well-intentioned sentences that emerge from his correspondence and works. Ghica actually was a diplomat, and his existence fades in the light of his work."

A writer, political man, economist, revolutionary, diplomat, exile, extraordinary pilgrim through Europe, Ion Ghica is a genuine hero of a novel, representing an era, a memorable destiny. However, I wondered why prince Ghica and not ruling prince A. I. Cuza? Why not the novel of the Union? The 1859 union which remains the crucial event in Romania's history, in her process of modernization and progress. The passion for Ion Ghica's life was for Dana Dimitriu stronger: an 1848 revolutionary returns to Walachia after 10 years of exile. It is a personage who directly enters the stage, but without a ... fez! He is a Balzacian character by his destiny, by the period which he wants to dominate. The "style" of Ion Ghica is a chance to transform, to modernize the Romanian Principalities.

\* A Danube fish

The epic survey of Dana Dumitriu does not circumvent the period, its contradictions, but in the novel it appears rather as a backdrop, it does not hold priority. Practically the whole show belongs to Ion Ghica. The management of fiction disadvantages the identity of the period, its tragedy, the concrete historical time, the specific, the truthfulness of social and moral relations. It also puts into shade the role of A. I. Cuza, M. Kogalniceanu and Negri and others. Also thrown into shade is the Union. It is retold neutrally, with scenes and microscenes of a doubtful realism. Satire, parody are used in the novel, without any esthetic justification. The great men of the period are presented not as voices of an ideal, but as "personages" made to utter their "speeches." The entire novel reflects a tone of significant minimalization of the most enduring creation of Romanian history. Dana Dumitriu's perspective is governed by demythification that winds up in satire, in pamphlet.

The novel of Ion Ghica, born as a conceited, cynical, dominating "archipelago" in Walachia and Moldavia, which "stand under the wing of fatality....," proceeds under a different artistic temperature. Ion Ghica is a moderate, prudent, adept of discretion, a clever man, with the vocation of exile. He knows how to "gossip divinely." In the principalities he is an avowed enemy of Cuza, aspiring to become a ruling prince. He skillfully devises intrigues, artfully plots conflicts, launches principles, creates a moral and political code by which duplicity rules. Ion Ghica's Machiavellism is the poisoned lily which the former bey of Samos holds in his hands with a cynicism that reaches total contempt. He knows like no one else how to spread around a secret and dangerous light of power, of influences. The area where he lives after the exile seems to him a "fatality." Out of this fatality Prince Ghica creates his destiny, his chance to figure in history. Dana Dumitriu does not wrong her hero. All his deeds are explained, interpreted ("We are in the period of fatalities!"), she reconstitutes with talent, with an evident tendency to intuit from the logic of events a conscience of truth, a moral of destiny. Living on the social and political scene of the period, Ion Ghica is a man of progress ("I believe fanatically in progress, even if often it is a blind deity"). The 1848 revolution seems to him a "chimera." Moderate Ion Ghica has become a "realist": "We must grasp the national banner, totally abandoning the revolutionary one. Only in this way we shall earn the sympathy and support of European powers. The country needs to be thoroughly brought into the 19th century by convincing and adequate reforms. And thoroughly means very, very patiently." (I, 194). Moulded by the Orient, by its philosophy, having opportunism in his blood, Ion Ghica has the "patience" to reap the fruit of political, diplomatic ideas, to experience the joy of successes. He is for a foreign prince in Walachia and Moldavia, whom he will bring into the country, directly contributing to Cuza's dethroning. Ghica's destiny knows no failure. "Management" is his great vocation.

Dana Dumitriu's portraits of A. I. Cuza do not move beyond the frames of cool admiration. The prince is constantly seen as a "personage" of a play that is played with no curtain. The hero of the Union appears seldom. Present is the "personage": "Entering through the open door was a medium-height man, dressed

in a colonel's uniform, with pale gold epaulets, very pleasant in appearance, but without shining by anything (?!), perhaps even a little dull -- an impression certainly produced by the ordinary color of the hair, by the lack of those strongly individualizing features. A proportioned forehead, a smooth nose, the complexion a little too yellow, sickly, only the eyes of grayish blue, a little sad. He walks lazily, without the haste with which the high personages want to prove how busy they are. He wears his moustache and beard like Napoleon III, a fact which causes him to amazingly resemble the French Emperor not only by his character of "elected" Prince and not "born" Prince, but also by the physiognomic line, and moves the fingers of his hands with an absent-minded impatience (II, 163). The prince seems to be a "product" of the Orient (II, 263). The portraits are good from the point of view of the narrator who introduces to the stage an historical figure recreated from the documents of the time. However, the Romanian prince's image created by Dana Dumitriu is strange. It is a defamatory, moral nature image, in complete disagreement with what the prince of the Union had been. Minimalization is evident. The work of A. I. Cuza's lifetime is not fully recognized: The Union, the great reforms, his fundamental role in our history. Dana Dumitriu is concerned with the "subterranean" aspect of Cuza's life, with reopening some "files" that were shelved a long time ago. The image is totally caricatural. The trifling of Cuza's personality is in disagreement with historical truth and reality. Ion Ghica is the great detractor of Cuza and Eliade. He sees in the ruling prince a "fickle person...." (I, 233). Another conclusion: "Cuza grows young again noticeably in the context of his vices"! He allegedly abused his "luck"! Sometimes, Cuza allegedly "displayed a truant's smile"! Ghica also is the most constant defamer of Cuza: "He is not an easygoing Prince because of an excessive ambiguity" (II, 109). Ghica "analyzes" Cuza by using a quite mystifying "superiority" and "management." The most cruel lampoon, floating in the waters of invective and contempt, "restores" not a truth of history to the document investigated, but a caricature. Was this how A. I. Cuza was? This is how much did Dana Dumitriu retain from the personality of the ruler of the Union? The mystification is complete: "Let us analyze, Ghica proposes in a good mood. He seems ambitious, but also totally lacking willpower, he seems courageous and at the same time terribly indifferent in face of the great trials, he is clever, patient, tenacious and, oh, amazingly lazy, he is "sublime," to quote Rosetache and, suddenly, forgive me, abject, he displays admirable manliness in face of dangers and effeminate virility.... Therefore in relationships with him you need to calculate too many possibilities of reaction. This is an excessive stress for me also, it disrupts my affairs, slows down my drive.... The governing program stagnates because of the various ambiguities of our Prince. I repeat the idea which I stated before: it is thus evident that he has been elected. He does not have the conduct of an authentic Prince, the simplest austerity which hides inside the idea of sacrifice of one's own being. He wants to be a Prince and at the same time he does not want to renounce any of colonel Cuza's impulses." (II, 109-110). Dana Dumitriu does not forget to spotlight Cuza's "adventures," an "efficient" way to bring the Prince down to a simple Don Juan (II, 326).

Mihail Kogalniceanu, also, does not escape the "grill" of deliberate defaming. How does the great statesman appear in the novel? He is the "divine orator...." but "Kogalniceanu, no longer able to put up with strategy, whimpers softly," (II, 17). What a "divine orator"!! At the table he allegedly shouted: "It growls, gentlemen, it growls, dammit!" The caricature thrives in a solemn carnival irony. Mihail Kogalniceanu "Also, is a great womanizer (!) but his lust is controlled: his depravity has a manly facet (?), that is to say it is savagely checked, a hygienic relaxation and nothing more, vulgarity can constitute a pleasant rest for the mind. But Cuza's frankness drives them all out of their minds, shows them their hypocrisy and ironizes their scruples" (II, 65). Costache Negri, also, goes through the troubled waters of the lampoon. As a matter of fact, the Moldavians are characterized with a deliberate condescension, the outcome of superficiality, of lack of knowledge of moral and spiritual structures. C. Negri's quality allegedly is reduced to the "sense of conjuncture." The revolutionary of Minjina allegedly was an "excentric," a "naive," a "martyr of dignity!" Pantazie Ghica himself reveals... his personality, the area where he lives, his "descendance," using self-irony but, actually, despising our origins, our nation of "primitives," "barbarism": "I am a Walachian brute! Here we are in a barbarian province! You must understand this from the first evening spent in Bucharest. We are underdeveloped and our plain stinks of burnt tortilla! You will be appalled at how primitive we are!"

The most authentic character, after so many caricatures, lifeless masks, is priest Atanasie, a sage who has outgrown his condition. The dialogue conducted with Prince Ghica (I, 154-162) reveals to us an inflexible moral philosophy, a realistic principle of life, a moral awareness which refuses to lose its identity. Also remarkable, in my view, are some female characters. The expertise to revive a name, a person, does not disappoint like in the case of the great personalities of national history. The vocation of the portrait is indisputable in Dana Dumitriu. Lady Elena, always away, absent from the Palace, is "compared," however, with the Catargiu sisters: "This means both pity and contempt for that small, thin, terribly pale woman that is Cuza's wife. There could not be a more bizarre association: his vivacity, intelligence and slightly frivolous brilliance, his irony and perfect impersonation of the part with this taciturn, awkward, rigid and sullen woman over which hovers a somnolent timidity."

An authoress endowed with the talent of lively, refined language, subjected to severe semantic control, Dana Dumitriu is unrecognizable in "Prince Ghica." The language is full of crudities, of vulgarities of expression without aesthetic excuse. The afflux of words and sentences extracted from the arsenal of the Zolaesque naturalism carries its agony in a relish of ambiguous meanings. Moreover, the phenomenon occurs in an historical novel! The images of triviality unfold constantly: "Out of the gate come two soldiers flanking two inmates who clang their chains and carry on a board a dead body. The arms and legs hang on either side of the board revealing the purplish organ and hollowed thorax." Ion Ghica "When he entered Bucharest was fed up, until his teeth

gritted (!), with the picturesqueness of the road" (I, 29). The prince has a grating voice of a philosopher trooper (?!) (I, 60). On the lapel of his tail-coat he wears.... something purplish, something between an exotic flower and a tired organ. Where could he have acquired it?" Ghica is an ironic, cynical guy, a ".... nervous liberal who sits on a chair with only one buttock...." Pantazi Ghica is more... earthy: - "No, sir, with your bottom in two boats you risk having a third buttock growing on you!" (II, 295).

Prince Cuza is "....that type in whom the function creates the organ (?!). In Dana Dumitriu's vision, Cuza is merely "....the elegant courtier (!?) of Iasi ladies...." (I, 234), a notorious "womanizer," a "frivolous person" (II, 341). Dana Dumitriu does not hesitate to remind us at any cost, with reason and without reason, of what a "frivolous mind" Cuza had. The Prince allegedly strongly hated austerity and preferred chain "orgies," known not only at home, but also in Europe! The reconstitution of the scene with the "divine creature" (is there a document on this topic or does Dana Dumitriu today collect "rumors," in order to besmear Prince Cuza?) does not have any justification (II, 237). The Moldavians are "these," and they go more for "skirts and corn cakes" (II, 300).

For Dana Dumitriu "History has the advantage of being a book that can be opened any time and can be closed any time...." But the manner in which she recounted the life, the deeds of the heroes, the dramas that occurred, the significance of events, the way in which she saw and defined Prince Cuza, the Union, its illustrious and immortal representatives, that went down in eternity as heroes, as voices of the conscience of the Romanian nation, is not convincing. One closes Dana Dumitriu's book with the regret that genuine Romanian history did not this time discover its novelist but only an indifferent and almost cynic narrator that excels in meaningless demythification and defaming.

11710  
CSO: 2700/44

ROMANIA

LI CABLES CEAUSESCU ON RELATIONS ANNIVERSARY

AU021534 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Sep 84 p 5

[Text] A festive meeting organized by the Ialomita County RCP Committee and the National Council of Agricultural Production Cooperatives took place in Munteni-Buzau Commune, Ialomita County, to mark the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the local party and state bodies, of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and by numerous working people from that commune.

Li Zewang, PRC ambassador in Bucharest, and embassy members were also present.

Goeghe Ghita, hero of socialist labor and chairman of the "Romanian-Chinese Friendship" agricultural production cooperative of that commune, as well as the PRC ambassador in our country spoke about the significance of the event that was being celebrated.

The speakers stressed the particular importance of the proclamation of the PRC, a crucial moment in the Chinese people's multimillenary history and an excellent crowning of the longstanding struggle waged by the people's masses under the Communist Party's leadership to eliminate foreign oppression and for national and social liberation, thus opening up the road to eliminating feudal and capitalist exploitation and the country's independent development on the road of socialism. The speakers also stressed the successes achieved by the friendly Chinese people during the years of people's power, in the socialist revolution and construction, and in the increasingly greater assertiveness of the PRC in the international arena.

Referring to the constant upward trend of relations of cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples, the speakers pointed out the particular role played by the summit meetings in Bucharest and Beijing, which are going down as events of great significance in developing bilateral relations to their mutual benefit and to the benefit of the general cause of socialism, international cooperation, and peace throughout the world.

CSO: 2700/7

ROMANIA

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS PRC NATIONAL DAY

AU090836 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 84 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the 35th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRC and the Socialist Republic of Romania, I want to convey to you and, through you, to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian Government and people warmest congratulations on behalf of the PRC, the Chinese Government and people, and on my own behalf.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Romania was an event of great significance in the chronicle of developing friendship between our peoples. During the 35 years that have elapsed since the establishment of diplomatic relations, our two countries--guiding themselves by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and by adhering to the norms of international relations, i.e. mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression noninterference in internal affairs, equality of rights, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence--have carried out extensive, fruitful, and many-sided cooperation in all areas. In the past years, the party and state leaders of our countries have constantly exchanged visits, and thus relations have become increasingly closer and friendlier. Chinese-Romanian relations of cooperation and friendship have withstood the trials of history and have given a vigorous impetus to socialist construction in our countries and to the cause of preserving peace in the world. The Chinese people greatly value unity and friendship with the Romanian people and will continue to make sustained efforts to consolidate and strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.

May Chinese-Romanian friendship live eternally!

May the Socialist Republic of Romania flourish and prosper!

Li Xiannian, PRC president.

CSO: 2700/7

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ZAMBIAN COMMERCE MINISTER

AU052000 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 5 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 5 October 1984--On 5 October, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received at Snagov Leonard Subulu, minister of commerce and industry of the Republic of Zambia, co-chairman of the Joint Romanian-Zambian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were conveyed friendly warm greetings from President Kenneth Kaunda and Mme Betty Kaunda as well as wishes of welfare and happiness for the Romanian people.

Thanking Nicolae Ceausescu requested that a warm friendly salute be conveyed to President Kenneth Kaunda and Mme Betty Kaunda on behalf of Elena Ceausescu and of his own behalf, as well as wishes of prosperity and progress for the Zambian people.

During the interview which passed in a cordial atmosphere, stress was laid on the special importance of the Romanian-Zambian summit talks and understandings which opened broad prospects to the development of bilateral relations and of cooperation between the two countries on an international plane.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was appreciative of the results of the recent Bucharest session of the Joint Romanian-Zambian Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation during which measures were agreed upon apt to increase commercial exchanges and expand cooperation in production, in the interest of stimulating the friendly ties between the two countries and peoples as a whole. Furthermore, the significance was highlighted of promoting appropriate collaboration forms apt to turn Romania's and Zambia's economic potential to best account. It was considered in that respect that barter was an advantageous morality which should be encouraged.

Questions were also approached related to the world economic situation, with emphasis on the significance of intensifying cooperation among developing countries for the insurance of their socioeconomic progress, for a policy of peace, security and understanding all over the world.

The interview was attended by Ion M. Nicolae, deputy prime minister of Romania, co-chairman of the Joint Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation.

Present was Gibson R. Zambia's ambassador to Romania.

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

STUDENTS PLENARY SESSION HELD--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6 October 1984--On 6 October, the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], the Council of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania, and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization debated during a plenary meeting the draft directives of the Thirteenth RCP Congress regarding Romania's socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 five-year period and the guidelines until the year 2000. The proceedings were attended by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who also addressed the audience. During the plenary meeting analysis was made of the report on political-organizational activities for the multilateral training of pupils and students for work and life, for their communist, revolutionary education. A programme was endorsed for political-ideological, technical-scientific, cultural-artistic and sport activities to be organized with preschoolers, pupils and students in the 1984-1985 academic year. Nicu Ceausescu, first secretary of the CCOF the UCY, took the floor at the end of the proceedings. [Text] [AU061920 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 6 Oct 84]

SDUF DELEGATION VISITS JAPAN--Tokyo, AGERPRES, 8 October 1984--Upon an invitation of the Komeito Party and of the "Soka Gakkai" Organization, a delegation of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, headed by Mihai Burca, deputy chairman of the SDUF National Council, paid a visit to Japan. The delegation met with leaders of the Komeito, Liberal-Democratic, New Liberal Club parties and of the Social-Democratic Federation, with the Japanese minister of foreign affairs and other members of the government, with the speaker of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet and the chairman of the Japan-Romanian Parliamentary League. [Text] [AU081930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 3 Oct 84]

BUCHAREST MEETING--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1 October 1984--A festive meeting was organized in Bucharest at the "23 August" enterprise on 1 October by the Municipal RCP Committee to mark the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. Paul Blaier, manager of the Bucharest enterprise, and Li Zewang, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, spoke about the significance of the event and pointed to the great achievements scored by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the 35 years after liberation, in the vast work of building socialism. The speakers also referred to the fine relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and the CCP, between the two countries and peoples, which witness powerful

development following the close contacts and interviews between the party and state leaders of Romania and the People's Republic of China. [Text] [AU011851 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 1 Oct 84]

PRC TIES ANNIVERSARY--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 9 October 1984--In marking of 35 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei gave a luncheon attended by Li Zewang, people's China ambassador in Bucharest, and by members of the Chinese Embassy, on 9 October. [Text] [AU091823 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 9 Oct 84]

CSO: 2020/4

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS ON SFRY-TOGOLESE COMMUNIQUE

LD042202 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 4 Oct 84

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)--In connection with the visit to Yugoslavia by President Gnassingbe Eyadema of the Republic of Togo, a joint communique has been published in Belgrade, in which it is stated that General Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of Togo, and Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, examined bilateral relations and the topical situation in the world in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and mutual understanding. It was with satisfaction that they noted identity or a high level of agreement of their standpoints.

On the bilateral level, the two presidents were gratified to conclude that relations, which have for many years already linked Togo and Yugoslavia, are very good, and they expressed determination to exert maximum efforts in order further to strengthen all-round cooperation.

With this in mind, they gave a positive assessment of the visit to Togo at the start of this year by a Yugoslav governmental delegation, and of the visit to Yugoslavia in May of this year by a Togolese governmental delegation. The two presidents underlined the need to implement all the agreements reached on these occasions.

With this end in view, an agreement has been signed on the formation of a mixed Yugoslav-Togolese commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation. The mixed commission is charged with examining all forms of this cooperation between Togo and Yugoslavia and will hold its first session before the end of 1984.

The two sides agreed to draw up a long-term program of economic and trade cooperation with the aim of expanding these relations.

Evaluating the present situation in the world, the two presidents assessed this as very worrying, extremely complicated and difficult in all spheres of international activity. Instead of a policy of detente as a universal and global process, the profound crisis in relations between the great powers and blocs is leading to new exacerbations, is deepening distrust between them and is putting the world community ever further from a solution to the basic problems of mankind.

The two presidents expressed particular concern at the existence of the serious crisis that threatens the economies of the developing countries. In this connection they reiterated the conviction that economic relations in the world can be restored and the foundations of mutually beneficial cooperation based on equality between developing and developed countries can be laid only by establishing a new just economic order.

To this end they appealed with a sense of urgency to the countries of the north to be less egoistic so that active solidarity can be established as a factor of progress and development between their rich peoples and the poor peoples of the south.

In this context Yugoslavia and Togo attach particular importance to the efforts to find the appropriate solutions to the serious problems caused by the developing countries' indebtedness and to the least developed countries' critical situation, the deteriorating conditions for trade, protectionism and the constant fall in the price of raw materials.

At the same time the two countries stressed the importance of further promoting economic and technical cooperation between developing countries in keeping with the decisions of nonaligned and developing countries' meetings.

In this connection the two presidents attach particular importance to relations between developing countries. They stressed the significance of the role played by nonaligned countries and reiterated their adherence to the policy of nonalignment.

The two presidents reiterated that in the present international situation, which is mainly characterized by the division of the world into blocs, the policy of nonalignment represents the sole alternative and a real force acting in favor of the priority goals of mankind, which are the preservation of peace, strengthening of security, promotion of cooperation on an equal footing between countries and establishment of the new, just socio-economic order. They particularly stressed the need to preserve the unity and capacity for action of the movement of nonaligned countries on the basis of the original principles of nonalignment.

In considering the complex problems confronting Africa, the two presidents expressed deep concern at the conflicts that are shaking that continent.

The two presidents analyzed the OAU's present situation and emphasized its irreplaceable role in guarding the independence, sovereignty and political and socioeconomic emancipation of African states.

President Veselin Djuranovic highly assessed the effort being made by President Gnassingbe Eyadema to strengthen unity in the OAU and spread inter-African cooperation within the framework of subregional organizations.

In connection with the situation in Southern Africa, the two presidents energetically condemned the machinations of the racist regime of South

Africa, whose aim is to prevent the implementation of Resolution 435/1978 of the UN Security Council of the urgent and unconditional acquisition of independence by Namibia.

They reiterated their complete support for SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, and for other liberation movements in Southern Africa, which has been recognized by the OAU.

Further, they sharply condemned the policy of apartheid which is being imposed on the majority of South Africa's population and reiterated their support for their heroic struggle for democratization, justice and equality.

The two presidents devoted particular attention to the problem of Chad and took note of the initiatives taken over the past few weeks in connection with the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chad. They expressed the hope that peace and national reconciliation will soon be established there.

Considering the problem of Western Sahara, the two presidents emphasized the need to implement as speedily as possible the resolution in which the 19th summit of the OAU called for direct talks to be started between the two sides in the conflict and for a referendum on self-determination to be organized so that lasting and just peace could be ensured in the region.

In considering the hotbeds of crisis in various parts of the world the two presidents paid particular attention to the crises in the Near East and in the Gulf.

The two presidents noted with bitterness that the Iran-Iraq war, which is causing considerable damage to both of these two nonaligned countries, is continuing and that it is threatening to spread. They again stressed the importance of the peaceful settlement of the conflict between nonaligned countries. To this end they underlined the need for an urgent termination of the conflict, which should lead to a permanent solution on the basis of the principles of nonalignment and of the UN Charter.

The two presidents also stressed the exceptional role played by the UN in the international community and expressed the wish that all the countries should strive to strengthen its activity in favor of peace, justice and solidarity among the peoples of the world.

President Gnassingbe Eyadema invited the president of the SFRY Presidency to pay an official visit to Togo. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

CSO: 2800/23

GOVERNMENT-RELIGION RELATIONS DISCUSSED IN SPLIT

LD052219 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 5 Oct 84

[Text] Split, 5 Oct (TANJUG)--The extent to which sociopolitical institutions adhere to the consistent implementation of constitutional provisions regarding the church and believers, and the extent of the role of the church as a factor which protects the rights of believers will diminish. This was stressed among other things by Branko Puharic, president of the section for social questions of religion of the Croatian SAWP republic conference, when he addressed the session of the Split municipal communities' section.

He stressed that even in conditions when relations with the church are relatively good, the constitutional provisions and laws regulating relations with religious communities should be implemented in a consistent way, without opportunism and liberalism. The same principle should be applied when opposing manifestations of sectarianism and dogmatism in relations to religious freedom of citizens-believers. Referring to the experience acquired from the hitherto attitude toward believers, Banko Puharic stressed that through our inconsistency in implementing the constitutional provisions regarding believers we have succeeded, as a society, in creating impression among believers that the church was the only factor interested in implementing and respecting their rights. He added that the constitutional provisions regarding believers are acceptable and principled and that they have never been questioned, because religion and religious conviction are personal matters for every citizen; whether someone believes in God or not should not affect one's rights or duties. His status depends above all on his contribution to the building of socialist society.

A section of our cadres has not mastered these problems and that is why misunderstanding occur. The church takes substantial advantage of this because during the whole of the post-war period its strategy has been to convince believers that socialism is an atheistic social system, and as such does not satisfy aspirations of believers. This is where the church's aspirations, and particularly those of its hierarchy, to assume the role of a political pettifogger of believers and its attempts to constitute itself as a real political force within socialism, stem from.

The session was also addressed by Ivan Lalic, president of the Croatian Executive Council's Commission for Relations With Religious Communities, who also referred to the recent religious festivities in Jasenovac and Marija Bistrica. He noted that large masses of believers gathered for these celebrations, which in general passed in good order and without incidents--but the statements by church dignitaries at both celebrations reflected the strategies of both the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church in Croatia. One of the basic tenets of these strategies is to equate the religious and the national. This is unacceptable to our society and does not help toward creating a favorable climate in relations between the state and the church.

A number of people took part in the discussion. Speaking on behalf of their communities, they stressed that, following the festivities in Jasenovac and Marija Bistrica, social forces must act among the ranks in a more practical way and through better organization and in the spirit of the constitutional provisions regarding relations with the church and believers.

CSO: 2800/23

YUGOSLAVIA

FEC OUTLINES POSITION OF REFUGEES IN SFRY

LD092312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 9 Oct 84

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)--There are no aliens living in Yugoslavia with the recognized right of asylum. The recognized status of refugee is enjoyed by 1,413 aliens: 1,280 Albanians, 101 Chileans, 18 Greeks, 8 Bulgarians, 4 Hungarians and 2 citizens of Indonesia.

The legal basis for regulating the position and protection of refugees in Yugoslavia is provided, apart from the SFRY Constitution, by certain federal regulations, while the law on the movement and stay of aliens fully regulates the right of asylum and recognition of the status of refugee in Yugoslavia. In the course of applying these regulations in practice, our organs exert enormous efforts to ensure that the spirit of the convention on the status of refugees is fully applied in the treatment of refugees.

This is part of the extensive written reply given by the Federal Executive Council to several delegate questions put by Nevenka Novakovic. The questions dealt with various aspects of the status and protection of refugees in Yugoslavia.

In the reply it is stated that there was a great influx of Albanian refugees in the period 1948-70 (most of them in 1953), whose refugee status was recognized in Yugoslavia. They settled down on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the inner territory of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the Socialist Republics of Montenegro and Macedonia.

After the military junta's brutal treatment of the progressive forces in Chile in 1973, Yugoslavia accepted 140 Chilean refugees. They settled down throughout Yugoslavia, but most of them in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. A total of 39 of them moved to Latin American countries or returned to Chile. All the costs of material care were covered from the very start of their arrival from federal resources.

Up to 1968 the material care of Albanian refugees was the direct concern of the organs of internal affairs of the areas in which the refugees were settled. In 1968 work started on the complete integration of refugees with the aim of enabling them to work and support themselves on their own.

Integration was carried out by purchasing agricultural land, residential houses and other buildings, land cultivation tools and other mobile equipment needed for work. A total of 12 million dinars was spent on the integration of refugees capable of economic activity in the period from 1968-71. The federation provided 50 percent of the funds needed for integration, and 50 percent was provided by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Integration extended to 192 families with 1,122 household members.

Apart from the above, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees also granted \$400,000 in 1977 and 1978 to finance the building of a home for handicapped refugees in Pristina. The high commissioner's office also allocated \$210,000 for medical equipment for this home.

In 1980 the federation allocated an additional sum of 20 million dinars for the integration of 40 Albanian families which had not yet been integrated, so that now on the whole all the Albanian refugees are materially provided for or integrated. The Chilean and other refugees are also completely provided for materially and residentially.

The property given to the refugees for their use is registered as social property. The records are kept by the appropriate municipal organs in the republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The funds needed to support refugees who are not capable of earning their living and are not materially provided for are secured in the federal budget within the framework of the preliminary spending estimates of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Protection. These funds are used for the monthly financial aid payments to and social care of refugees and under-age members of their families who are not Yugoslav citizens. A total of 9 million dinars was approved for this purpose for 1984. The extent of the basic financial aid payments and supplementary payments is fixed in accordance with the average social aid paid to our citizens who received social protection in the course of the preceding year in the republic or province in which the refugees have been granted temporary residence.

No assistance from the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees was received for supporting the refugees.

The Federal Executive Council notes that a special problem is presented by refugees from neighboring and other countries who are in transit through Yugoslavia and want to be allowed to move to other countries within the shortest possible period of time. Refugees of this kind very rarely apply for refugee status in Yugoslavia. Between 1975 and 1 October 1984 only 34 such refugees asked to be allowed to stay in Yugoslavia, where they were granted refugee status. These are mainly Albanian citizens with family ties in Yugoslavia. The problems of such persons are solved with the mediation of the representative of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. A particularly difficult problem in view of the general employment difficulties is that of finding jobs for refugees. There are no other problems.

Records on SFRY citizenship grants are not kept in such a way as to provide data on how many refugees have received Yugoslav citizenship. Data of this kind can be obtained by referring to all the individual cases, whose files are kept in the republics and the provinces.

YUGOSLAVIA

LC SECRETARY RAVNIK DISCUSSES SLOVENIAN VIEW

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 84 pp 6-9

[Interview with Miha Ravnik, secretary of the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, by Stane Pucko: "Always Sensitive Slovenia"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Almost 3 months have passed since the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee and adoption of the Proposal of Conclusions, which have been given to the membership for discussion. Now that vacation time is mostly over, they are being discussed in many basic organizations of the LC. Miha Ravnik, secretary of the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, spoke to DANAS about those discussions in party organizations and about the state of affairs in society in general.

[Question] Although the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee drew a great deal of attention, as did the Proposal of Conclusions Adopted at the Meeting, a lull seems to have followed after it was held.

[Answer] That is not how we see it. Vacation time came, and in that period there was no need to conduct the discussion. There was quite a bit of activity to prepare for the discussion. In Slovenia four-fifths of the committees have drafted operational work programs, and there were also other activities, not only organizational, but also substantive.

The summer months also brought quite a bit of activity in the economy and agriculture. Whereas in April and May we had negative trends in production, matters were essentially different in July and August. Results quite close to those planned were achieved in output and exports. In addition, management people were quite a bit involved in resolving the questions of liquidity and payment of personal incomes. According to the assessments, quite a few problems were anticipated, but in the end only some 20 organizations of associated labor with a total labor force of about 8,000 had difficulties with personal incomes.

[Question] What have been the assessments in Slovenia so far of the content of the Proposal of Conclusions adopted at the 13th meeting? Do they add anything essentially new to the documents of the 12th congress and the economic stabilization program?

[Answer] It is clearly evident from the assessment which we possess so far that the Proposal of Conclusions does not add anything essentially new with respect to the commitment of the LC, but matters concerning how we are to achieve the leading role of the LCY and the unity of the LCY have been stated more concretely, more clearly and more responsibly. Emphasis was put on the problem of the effectiveness of the LC and of the entire society with respect to carrying out the stabilization program and on how to strengthen the role, activity and attitude of party members in performing the tasks agreed on, not only those in the stabilization program, but those adopted at the congress in general. LC organizations in SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia defined tasks at the election conferences held recently. The Proposal of Conclusions requires that they be given additional work, and above all that the question of responsibility be put in more stringent terms. The rank and file has justifiably given notice to us that the discussions must not be a formality. The conclusions are more or less well known to everyone, so that there is a need for a specific discussion of what party members are doing in all cells of society and how they are doing it, which is the basis for the necessary differentiation. Yet we will open up the discussion to the public as well, so that noncommunists might also be able to speak about the outstanding issues of society and indeed even about the activity of party members, above all in the framework of the Socialist Alliance.

[Question] So, in some places the tendency is still to conduct the discussion of the Proposal of Conclusions in the old way?

[Answer] There has been some of that. But most party members are ready for an open discussion, since they feel responsible for the situation in society. Some indeed say that the conclusions offer nothing new. However, we must dispel such reflections at the very outset. It is those who are actually not satisfied with anything nor willing to work who talk that way. They should be shown the door, and new and younger people more ready to combat the problems of the development of socialist self-management should be brought into the LC.

[Question] Consequently, personnel policy will be an integral part of the discussion of the Proposal of Conclusions?

[Answer] We relate the discussion of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee to the meetings of the Slovenian LC Central Committee at which we spoke about the work methods of the LC and about personnel policy. This is an occasion for strengthening the personnel of the LC, for evaluating the ability of secretaries, leadership teams and for verifying people, verifying their attitude toward the effort, an occasion to put the question of responsibility, and that also has to do with changes in personnel. There is resistance here, and there will continue to be, especially where things are going badly. Among other things we are referring to shortcomings in economic activity, and indeed even in political work. It is necessary to distinguish whether objective problems are involved, or the consequences of poor performance by individuals or by the entire organization of the LC.

[Question] In Slovenia it is often emphasized that we have had quite a few conclusions, guidelines, agreements, oaths and the like, and it would be

better to do what has been already agreed on. And really, why do we always need new mobilization documents?

[Answer] The Proposal of Conclusions of the 13th meeting must above all encourage evaluations about how and to what extent we are carrying out the conclusions that have been adopted. The Slovenian LC has joined in the assessment that we have quite a few conclusions, but that throughout the entire LC there is too little commitment to carrying them out and following up on their performance. That is why people have to be mobilized. In what we say we are all in favor of stabilization and self-management, but it is different in practice. That is why we need an altogether concrete discussion in every basic, opstina, republic and provincial organization, and indeed even in the LCY Central Committee. For a long time now we have been proposing that the LCY Presidium and Central Committee ought to accept discussions on the situations in the republics and provinces, even though it begin with Slovenia, and evaluate what has been done and where the shortcomings are. Then we would talk less about the large number of good conclusions and more about whether we carried them out, and if not, why.

[Question] The Proposal of Conclusions emphasizes that unity in the LC is a condition and pledge for unity of the entire society. How is it in Slovenia?

[Answer] That is the essential question. However, the League of Communists does not bear sole responsibility for everything in society. The working class, organized through self-management, the delegate system and the political organization, must do more to realize the position it has under the constitution. But the question of unity in the LC is also being put in the Slovenian LC. Slovenian party members judge that this is a precondition for a more offensive activity in carrying out the stabilization program. Unity, however, has to be built through democratic discussion. It is not unity if we all are saying and thinking in the same way. Unity is when we put our common interests in the foreground and at the same time know how to define the role of the nationality, the republic, the opstina and associated labor. Unity is when we have the same approach to performing tasks. The results will, of course, vary, but according to particular conditions. Yet we do talk too much about disunity, we reflect too much about who has said what, instead of saying what so and so is doing, what sort of objective and concrete results he is achieving. There are many vociferous people who have nothing to show in practice. We found policy too much on disunity, since actually there are very few fields in which we have not managed to agree. I repeat that it is very important that we take the same approach to the effort, in which the LCY Central Committee and its bodies have a large role to play.

[Question] How do you evaluate the Slovenian contribution to the unity of the Yugoslav community?

[Answer] One can often hear in public the assessment that Slovenia has some sort of interests of its own or different interests. However, a meaningful approach has not been taken to these assessments. Work has been done for quite a long time now on certain of the activities which are now being put in the foreground in Slovenia. For example: for 4 years we have been pursuing

an intensive orientation toward exports, and that mostly to the convertible area. The same can also be said of relations in the field of socioeconomic linkage, of the quality of work, of higher productivity. We do not look upon all that exclusively as a solution to the economic situation, but rather as the basis for constitutional responsibility, not only as a right of the workers, but as the basis for development of the republic and the entire country. In that meaningful approach it does not matter where the proposals come from, but whether they are in line with development and the commitments made in the system. The interest of the workers is the same in Slovenia, in Serbia, in Croatia, in Macedonia....

We know quite well how to defend our real interests when we offer proposals and solutions which are in the interest of general progress, and accordingly in the interest of all. We emphasize integration on the basis of income sharing; however, federal economic policy usually does not stimulate those processes. Interests of the moment are often intruded into the system and the instruments, and that is not a good thing, for their protagonists first of all, since it usually maintains both the economic structure and low productivity. We have to build the system on the foundations laid by the constitution, on those who are pulling the cart forward, regardless of where they come from, and at the same time resolve the individual problems. The process of responsibility for our own development and joint development is a necessary one. I reject all those ideas about how Slovenia is thinking only of itself and not of joint development as well.

[Question] Is Slovenia the front-runner in stabilization discipline and party discipline?

[Answer] Slovenia is more highly developed. The contradictions show up more rapidly and in a more acute form here. That is why we probably began to undertake certain activities for the better quality of development at an earlier date. The assessment that in certain areas the stabilization is only beginning also applies to SR Slovenia. There is also resistance in our republic and people who think that this is only a wind which will die down, but on the whole the attitude toward the stabilization program has entered into people's awareness. Yet our people frequently say that that is not the case everywhere in Yugoslavia. When we evaluate the situation in the country, then this should be done concretely and on the basis of results achieved in the various parts of the country. Party discipline in the sense of discipline is still not satisfactory. The attitude toward personnel is being tightened. We have replaced quite a few of those at all levels whose performance has not been good.

[Question] You have been making those changes in personnel mainly without much noise, without scandal?

[Answer] That is in fact an attribute of personnel policy. Replacing people who make mistakes or who have not kept up with the times must be a normal process in self-management. Of course, the attitude is different toward people who have committed crimes. By virtue of the personnel changes we are mostly giving an opportunity to younger and more able people in the economy and in

politics. At the last election conferences we replaced 31 of the 69 secretaries and 31 chairmen in the LC. Perhaps that process has even been going too fast, but in any case it has to be based on objective evaluations of performance. Political scandals concerning personnel in which people are discredited unobjectively result in a fight for positions. In objective evaluation we must also give recognition for creative contributions.

[Question] There are often threats of political penalties because of failure to carry out what has been agreed to. That was recently the case with the implementation of price policy. Yet there were no real penalties.

[Answer] So long as the system is in effect in which the government sets the prices and thereby assumes responsibility, the question of responsibility in associated labor cannot be resolved. What sort of results can come from the freeze and then from the liberation, until we remove the causes, which lie in relations in reproduction which have not been mastered (commodity-money relations)? That is why we must transfer the creation of prices, except for several key products, and the responsibility for it to associated labor. Society, however, must be capable of objectively evaluating when inability, poor performance and appropriation not based on labor are hiding behind the price. We do indeed know how to raise a great deal of dust over responsibility, but we do little about what is essential, i.e., to respect economic laws and for associated labor to take command of that field. In many communities there were penalties because of irresponsible behavior.

[Question] Discipline, however, is very necessary to us in conceiving development, in investment policy, and so on. Although certain key questions of development still do not have final answers, certain capital investment projects are moving faster, the Jesenice Steel Mill, for example.

[Answer] In Slovenia and Yugoslavia very responsible tasks are being set concerning the efficient investment of capital. This will show whether or not we have truly understood the stabilization program and whether we are ready to develop on a different and higher-quality basis. Certainly the LC will not make the judgment of a projection from the technical and economic standpoint. That is a matter for specialists and those who are involved, that is their responsibility. We do not anticipate altogether unified views, for example, overexpansion of the steel mill at Jesenice, the aluminum factory at Kidricevo, or the fate of the IMV [Motor Vehicle Industry] in Novo Mesto. The decisions have to be based on economic evaluations, but not from the standpoint of whether we are in favor of a steel mill or in favor of aluminum or in favor of something else, but from the standpoint of the real prospects, the real interests of associated labor and the commitment of the available capital and the priorities adopted by agreement in the plan.

[Question] Yet the League of Communists is after all responsible for ensuring democratic discussion?

[Answer] Yes, especially concerning the essential decisions. Yet it bothers me that when such assessments are made, instead of professional economic feasibility, we enlist thousands of workers to take a position for solutions which

are still one-sided. Every investment project must have an economic basis. Otherwise the problem for the workers will be still greater.

[Question] The Slovenian economy, which is above all an export economy, feels that recently its proposals have fallen through at the federal level on several occasions, for example, with respect to vertical linkage in reproduction, price policy, export incentives, the importing of equipment, and so on. Did it have enough political support?

[Answer] It is especially in the field of foreign economic relations that we need a system which will motivate associated labor to export and to establish linkage on the basis of promising programs. We have achieved quite a bit in the country in that respect. However, the instruments which we now have are having a disintegrative effect. Yet exporting and importing necessitates long-term and stable orientations, and in that respect the economy has had the greatest number of objections. We are critical of the system for not placing exporters (linked together, of course, through the vertical chain of reproduction) and everything which contributes to exporting in the position of decisive factors. We talk more about rights than about the basis for realizing foreign exchange. The entire policy ought to support exporting. That is an issue in our development and an opportunity for getting out of the economic crisis. We are also critical of the measures which have broken down the vertical linkage in reproduction. It is impossible to arrange those relations on the basis of entities organized within an economic chamber. What is done there is to divide up the foreign exchange around a bargaining table. But still it cannot be said that the Slovenian economy has failed with its ideas. The Slovenian economy has consented to certain solutions which are now being criticized quite a bit, but there have been no assessments of what such solutions have brought us, that is, what the other proposals offered. That would be a way of building up confidence and good relations. But usually matters are reduced to some sort of political assessments, which is very bad. It is also bad when we pay more attention to who is making a proposal instead of to what he is proposing. It is we in Slovenia who take a view advocated by a large segment of the economy, since in our judgment this is in the spirit of strengthening the system of associated labor and socialist self-management.

[Question] Slovenia is often criticized for orthodox advocacy of the political system of socialist self-management and of being especially sensitive to the so-called de-Kardelj-ization. Is that true?

[Answer] It seems to me that that is a rather strange question. What is orthodoxy? Does it mean a desire for progress, for strengthening the role of the workers and the working class in the system of associated labor, and indeed in society as a whole? Living on the results of work on the unified Yugoslav market, does it mean desiring stronger brotherhood and unity, and therefore life on an equal basis, and we all know that everything else leads to collisions and interethnic conflicts. Haven't we had enough bitter experience in history? Haven't we tasted the blessings of statist centralism? All of this represents the goals and interests of everyone. It is not a question of de-Kardelj-ization or of a tax on Kardelj, since we have not forgotten that we all decided on socialist self-management, on nonalignment and on AVNOJ

[Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia. These are constants concerning foundations which we ought not allow to be disputed. However, we, of course, must point out where we have to make additions to the system. Some of the squabbles of the politicians and theoreticians are in fact nibbling away at the foundations of our system. We are sensitive here, and we will continue to be in the future, as indeed are all well-intentioned Yugoslavs.

We agree on making the system more efficient, more operational, more economical, and so on. We readily agree to find out what is holding back the system's effectiveness. We are also inefficient in the area of decisionmaking and organization. That needs to be checked out and additional work done, but always from the standpoint of an altogether clear role of the workers and associated labor. I often wonder what those critics, who are actually advocates of de-Tito-ization and de-Kardelj-ization, are actually offering us--a western or eastern theory, since that is all they in fact can offer us. Yet we need better solutions on the foundations of our system, solutions based on a resolution of the contradictions, and the contribution of science and knowledge must be significant here. All Yugoslavs are sensitive about the work of Tito and Kardelj, not just we Slovenes.

[Question] Often there is a very obvious difference in the framing of economic policy in the process of interrepublic agreement, that is, in the delegate proceedings at the federal level. If it is an acceptable thesis that this difference is brought about by conditions, that is, by the level of development in the various parts of the country, it is hardly feasible that we can meet the demand that the stabilization program be understood and carried out by all equally, and the same also applies to the party conclusions. Doesn't this have to do with tolerance concerning responsibility, at all levels, of course?

[Answer] Objective conditions in the various republics and provinces are certainly the basis for the reaching of agreement. Those conditions do differ, and in some places they are even more difficult than in Slovenia. We should not forget that because behavior in line with the stabilization began earlier in Slovenia, the standard of living has dropped further in real terms than in certain other communities. Yet this ought not to influence the framing of economic policy and the building of the system, which must rely on vehicles of development throughout the country. It is from that viewpoint that we need more professional competence, knowledge and commitment that will be less tied to specific conditions. We also need an evaluation of results, which may vary, but the approach must be uniform. Which means that we can be tolerant with respect to results, but not concerning the approach. Responsibility related to stabilization and to the framing and conduct of economic policy must be equal everywhere, and the evaluation of results and conditions must be objective. The responsibility of party members must be equal in Kosovo and in Slovenia.

[Question] What is the mood of people in Slovenia? The standard of living has been dropping steadily, and dissatisfaction must accordingly have been rising. There are fewer strikes or work stoppages. Are people more realistic than they are dissatisfied?

[Answer] People's mood, their behavior in the difficulties in which we find ourselves, is also a reflection of the political effort. Sociopolitical activities and the effort of sociopolitical organizations mean a great deal. People have been informed, although still not enough, about conditions, and they can make a rather objective assessment. That is why it would be difficult to speak about any general dissatisfaction, or even lack of confidence. Put simply, people are worried about their destiny. They are more critical and are demanding faster changes of conditions and also personnel changes, while on the other hand they are concerned about whether we will be able, with all the forces, to turn things around. Yet we have always managed to do that. It is a matter of creative concern. People are working on Saturday and Sunday, they are adapting to the conditions in their own organizations. An effort is obviously being made to achieve better discipline, and responsibility is higher and higher. People's willingness is at a high level and depends greatly on the overall action of the LC in successfully motivating people to change conditions rapidly. All, of course, must be bolstered by the results. Otherwise confidence will soon dwindle. Today we can still speak about people's willingness, but I am not convinced that we will be able to do so tomorrow if our actions are unsuccessful.

[Question] This is the first time that the LCY Central Committee has called upon members to verify a proposal of conclusions. Is this a new form of democratic centralism, an act which is supposed to contribute to mobilization, or is it a test of unity?

[Answer] This practice has been in place in the Slovenian LC for quite a long time. The approach is good, because a discussion is initiated in the rank and file about whether we are unified in the LCY, which means mobilization of all party members from the same points of departure, which means a strengthening of democratic centralism. The virtue of this approach is that it guides the rank and file into a discussion of relations and the influence of the activity of the LC in their respective environments and also that party members are discussing conditions throughout the country. There had been quite a few warnings in the Slovenian League of Communists to the effect that through this discussion we must guarantee unity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia about carrying out what has been agreed on. That approach, then, is also the obligation on all party members. We must take advantage of that.

7045  
CSO: 2800/2

**INFECTIOUS DISEASE RUMORS 'DIG' AT NONALIGNMENT**

AU051936 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 84 p 2

[B.P. commentary: "'Infectious' Stories"]

[Text] Recently we have been bombarded with street-corner reports on alleged appearances of various diseases in our country more and more frequently. In September alone, for instance, there were "8 cases" in Belgrade of plague, leprosy, yellow fever, and so on. Most varied numbers of those affected and those who died were also mentioned, the sources of infection were stated, and the hospitals were listed in which these diseases appeared (because of a lack of care and knowledge), and the question was finally asked who should be responsible for all this. The stories, which circulated in different variations, almost as a rule ended with a question: Why is the public not told about the matter and why is nobody held responsible?

All those who were "accused" or merely named showed surprise when they were asked about "infection" in their hospitals.

One need not say much about the fact that since the war, the difficulties through which our country passed were often exploited for disputing its achievements. It is also known that among the many rumors, any trouble in any field of our life was maliciously taken as a motive for spreading further untruths. The economic difficulties which we have been facing in recent years have increased the possibilities for invented and very tendentious stories. Last year, as we remember, any little report of a shortage of some item "drove" people to buy it for hoarding. The shortage of medicines and medical supplies was also an occasion for generating rumors of unbelievable proportions, the aim of which was transparent, but even well-meaning people were taken in by them.

It is the same with the diseases that have been mentioned in recent months. The fact that our hospitals are open to all patients is a reason for a premeditated "dig" at nonalignment, for instance, and for inventing a tremendous price which we allegedly could pay or are paying. One thing, however, is quite clear (and not only in medicine): Of all the diseases that appear, the most infectious is precisely the one which is carried by an invented story. Luckily, a tested medicine exists for this disease: the truth. These stories have no connection with it.

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

**DJURANOVIC MESSAGES TO NONALIGNED--Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)--**Yugoslav state Presidency President Veselin Djuranovic has sent messages to heads of state or government of (?several) nonaligned countries, with some of whom he had political contacts in the recent months. The messages convey Yugoslavia's views on the development of the situation in the world and on the role of the movement of nonalignment and possibilities for its greater engagement in and contribution to solving topical international problems, with a view to preserving peace, strengthening independence, promoting equitable international cooperation, improving the difficult position of the developing countries and creating more favourable conditions for their free and nonaligned socioeconomic development. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 3 October on page 7 reports that a message from Djuranovic for Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait, was handed on 2 October to the Kuwaiti foreign minister by Jovica Prodanovic, SFRY charge d'affaires in Kuwait.] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 4 October on page 2 reports that a message from Djuranovic for Muhammadu Buhari, head of state of Nigeria, was handed on 3 October to Tunde Idiagbon, chief of the General Staff, by Ramadan Marmulaku, SFRY ambassador in Nigeria.] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 5 October reports that Djuranovic has sent a message to Kim Il-song, DPRK president.] [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1655 GMT 2 Oct 84]

**DJURANOVIC MESSAGE TO KIM IL-SONG--Pyongyang, 5 Oct (TANJUG)--**President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Veselin Djuranovic today, Friday, sent President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Kim Il-song a message relating to bilateral cooperation and topical international problems. The verbal message, conveyed to DPR Korean Deputy Foreign Minister Li Chon-mok by Yugoslav Ambassador in Pyongyang Ljupco Taciovski, reflects the spirit of mutual friendly cooperation and exchanges of views on topical world issues. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1002 GMT 5 Oct 84]

**NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL SESSION--Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)--**The Council for the National Defense of the SFRY Presidency has discussed military-economic relations and scientific-technological cooperation with foreign countries. The session was chaired by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The Council also discussed some other issues from its sphere of activity. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 84 p 12]

CROAT COUNCIL NEW MEMBER--Zagreb, 2 Oct (TANJUG)--The Croat SAWP Republican Conference Presidium today approved the nomination of Dzenko Sveti as member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in charge of religious questions. Dzenko Sveti, who was born in 1924 and joined the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia in 1939 and the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1943, has until now been in the diplomatic service, where he held the office of assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 2 Oct 84]

NEW TANJUG OFFICIAL--Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)--Mladen Arnautovic has been appointed senior editor in chief of Tanjug, succeeding to Mihailo Saranovic, who was recently elected director of TANJUG. Arnautovic, who was born in 1940 in Gnjilane, Odzak, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a graduate of the faculty of law in Sarajevo, and worked on OSLOBODJENJE and MLADOS before joining TANJUG in 1975. He was for several years TANJUG's correspondent in Havana, and has held several editorial posts in the TANJUG foreign policy editorial department. He has been a member of the LCY since 1958. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 2 Oct 84]

YUGOSLAV-MONGOLIAN PROTOCOL--Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Mongolia signed a trade protocol [words indistinct] here yesterday evening. The total volume of bilateral trade next year is expected to reach 12 million dollars, or 30 percent up on the plan for this year. The protocol was signed by Yugoslav Deputy Trade Secretary Metodi Smilenski and Mongolian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister N. Bavu. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0910 GMT 4 Oct 84]

BOJANIC RECEIVES ALBANIAN OFFICIAL--Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)--Milenko Bojanic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign trade, today received Marko Xega, Albanian deputy minister of foreign trade, who is heading an Albanian delegation to trade negotiations on concluding a 1985 commodity exchange protocol between the two countries. On this occasion, the talks dwelt on the issues of the existing commodity exchange and views were also exchanged on possible goods deliveries in 1985. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 4 Oct 84]

BILIC TO SWEDISH PARTY CONGRESS--Stockholm, 15 Sep (TANJUG)--Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived in Stockholm today. As LCY representative, he will attend the congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party. Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, will also attend this congress. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0910 GMT 15 Sep 84]

ARMY CHIEF ON ARTILLERY DAY--Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG)--On the occasion of Artillery Day of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]--7 October--Colonel General Petar Gracanin, chief of staff of the JNA, has sent a congratulatory message to soldiers, cadets, officers, and citizens serving in the artillery

units of our armed forces. Among other things, the message says: I sent to you my cordial congratulations on the occasion of 7 October, Artillery Day of the JNA. On this same [day] 43 years ago, the formation of the first uprising battery marked the birth of our artillery units which made a significant contribution to the liberation of our country and which successfully stood the test of 4 cruel years of war. The successes you have achieved in your work so far demonstrate that you have been consistently following the path of your glorious predecessors. You are expected to continue to develop, through training and education, those characteristics of which the glorious members of the artillery and other units of the national liberation army were proud. The best way in which you can join the LCY action to further develop self-management and strengthen our socialist community is through accomplishing your tasks in a consistent way. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0856 GMT 6 Oct 84]

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